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PPHIAN: BOOK I
EDITED WITH NOTES
BY J. L. STRACHAN-DAVIDSON

OXFORD: AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

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FRANCES A. YATES

APPIAN

CIVIL WARS: BOOK I

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
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ΑΠΡΙΑΝΟΥ
ΡΩΜΑΙΚΩΝ ΕΜΦΥΛΙΩΝ Α

APPIAN

CIVIL WARS: BOOK I

EDITED WITH NOTES AND MAP BY

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FELLOW OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD

OXFORD
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PREFACE

MOMMSEN has described the period following the close of the History of Polybius as 'a twilight,' 'if possible more vexatious' than the 'veil of mist which still envelopes the Samnite and Pyrrhic wars.' This second period of twilight extends from the fall of Carthage and Corinth in the year 145 B.C. to the opening of the public life of Cicero with the speech against Verres in the first consulship of Pompey and Crassus (70 B.C.). We rejoice in the full sunlight when we have the guidance of Polybius or of Cicero. In the intervening period we have to grope our way by the uncertain light afforded by second-hand historians, often fragmentary and always insufficient.

The imperfection of our sources of information gives an incidental importance to Appian, as the single surviving writer in whom we find anything like a full and continuous account of this epoch. The First Book of his 'Civil Wars' bridges for us exactly the gulf between Polybius and Cicero; and it is as supplying this need that the book is one of the authorities prescribed for Oxford students in the School of Literae Humaniores. An Alexandrine Greek of the second century after Christ, Appian is necessarily dependent on the writings of previous historians. It makes all the difference in the value of his work whether he happens, as in his account of the Agrarian controversies of the Gracchi, to have

lighted on a good stratum of information, or whether, as in the story of the Social and Civil Wars, he has quarried in a vein of less worthy material; but in any case he enjoys the modest title to our consideration that, good or bad, he is the best, often the only, authority that we have.

The temporary exhaustion of the stock of the Teubner edition of Appian has made a text of the First Book of the Civil Wars a necessity in Oxford. I have therefore prepared an edition for the use of students. The text of Appian was settled for all practical purposes by Schweighäuser early in the nineteenth century. Such small corrections as remained to be made (in many cases by transference from Schweighäuser's notes) have been supplied with excellent judgement by Mendelssohn. Except in a very few cases I have followed Mendelssohn. On points of difficulty I have had the benefit of the advice of Mr. D. B. Monro, Provost of Oriel College.

In the interpretation, likewise, there is little to add to the translation and notes of Schweighäuser; but I have been assisted by the translations of Mr. Horace White (New York, 1899) and of the late E. F. M. Benecke, of Balliol College (Oxford, 1894). In the few passages where I have departed from Schweighäuser's rendering I have given my reasons in the notes.

I hope that this volume will enable students to read the text of Appian with little difficulty, and that the notes sufficiently collect the information derived from Plutarch, Velleius Paterculus, the Epitomator of Livy, and a few other sources, which is commonly all

that we possess to supplement the narrative of Appian. Only now and then we are able to appeal to surer evidence, when we find a passage of Cicero bearing on this epoch, or can illustrate our text by a reference to the surviving fragments of contemporary laws. I have cited these laws as they are set out by Mommsen and Gradenwitz in their Sixth Edition (1893) of Bruns, 'Fontes Iuris Romani.'

The obligations under which I lie to friends for help in the historical portion of the notes will be found acknowledged in the course of the work.

J. L. S.-D.

BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD,
Nov. 1902.

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ΑΠΠΙΑΝΟΥ

ΡΩΜΑΙΚΩΝ ΕΜΦΥΛΙΩΝ Α.

Ῥωμαίοις ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ βουλὴ πολλάκις ἐς ἀλλή- 1
λους περὶ τε νόμων θέσεως καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπῆς ἢ γῆς
διαδατονμένης, ἢ ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις, ἐστασίασαν· οὐ μὲν
τι χειρῶν ἔργον ἔμφυλον ἦν, ἀλλὰ διαφοραὶ μόναι καὶ
ἔριδες ἔννομοι, καὶ τὰδε μετὰ πολλῆς αἰδοῦς εἶκοντες
ἀλλήλοις διετίθεντο. ὁ δὲ δῆμός ποτε καὶ στρατευόμε- 2
νος ἐς τοιάνδε ἔριν ἐμπεσὼν οὐκ ἐχρήσατο τοῖς ὅπλοις
παροῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ ὄρος ἐκδραμὼν τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε κλη-
ζόμενον ἱερόν, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τότε χειρῶν ἔργον, ἀλλ' ἀρ-
χὴν ἑαυτοῦ προστάτιν ἀπέφηνε, καὶ ἐκάλεσε δημαρχίαν.
ἐς κώλυσιν μάλιστα τῶν ὑπάτων ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς αἶρου-
μένων, μὴ ἐντελὲς αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ τὸ κράτος

chs. 1-6. PREFACE.—The tribunate of Tib. Gracchus marks an epoch in Roman History. Hitherto there had been conflicts within the limits of the law, conducted in a moderate spirit; henceforward we find bloodshed passing through organized riot (Saturninus and Sulpicius) to military intervention (Sulla) and so to regular Civil War (Cinna and the Senate), renewed by Sulla and by Caesar, and culminating in despotism.

1. 2 ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς. If with Schweighäuser we take this to mean 'chosen by the senate,' it would be a mistake on Appian's part, but not an unnatural one, considering the practice of his own time which he is half inclined to attribute to Sulla (ch. 100. 4). More probably it means 'chosen (by the people) out of the number of the senators' (cf. ch. 35. 4 ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππέων and ch. 106. 5 ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἄνδρες ἑβρωστοί). In that case Appian would be right in fact, though not in law. The consul was doubtless always a senator, but he was eligible not because he was a senator but because he was a patrician.

ἐπὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ, 'in the constitution'; cf. ch. 55. 3 μειονε-
κτοῦντας ἐπὶ ταῖς χειροτονίαις.

3 εἶναι. ὅθεν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα δυσμενέστερον ἔτι καὶ
 φιλονεικότερον ἐς ἀλλήλας αἱ ἀρχαὶ διετίθεντο ἀπὸ
 τοῦδε, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐς αὐτὰς ἐμερίζετο ὡς
 ἐν ταῖς τῶνδε πλεονεξίαις ἐκάτεροι τῶν ἐτέρων ἐπι-
 4 κρατοῦντες. Μάρκιός τε ὁ Κοριολανὸς ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς
 ἔρισιν ἐξελαθεῖς παρὰ δίκην ἐς Οὐολούσκους ἔφυγέ τε
 2 καὶ πόλεμον ἐπήγαγε τῇ πατρίδι. καὶ τοῦτο μόνον
 ἂν τις εὖροι τῶν πάλαι στάσεων ἔργον ἔνοπλον, καὶ
 τοῦθ' ὑπ' αὐτομόλου γενόμενον, ξίφος δὲ οὐδέν πω
 παρενεχθὲν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν, οὐδὲ φόνον ἔμφυλον, πρὶν
 γε Τιβέριος Γράκχος δημαρχῶν καὶ νόμους ἐσφέρων
 πρῶτος ὅδε ἐν στάσει ἀπώλετο, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ πολλοὶ
 κατὰ τὸ Καπιτώλιον εἰλούμενοι περὶ τὸν νεὼν ἀνηρέ-
 2 θησαν. καὶ οὐκ ἀνέσχον ἔτι αἱ στάσεις ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ
 μύσει, διαιρουμένων ἐκάστοτε σαφῶς ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις, καὶ
 ἐγχειρίδια πολλάκις φερόντων, κτιννυμένης τέ τινος
 ἀρχῆς ἐκ διαστήματος ἐν ἱεροῖς ἢ ἐκκλησίαις ἢ ἀγο-
 ραῖς, δημάρχων ἢ στρατηγῶν ἢ ὑπάτων, ἢ τῶν ἐς
 3 ταῦτα παραγγελλόντων, ἢ τῶν ἄλλως ἐπιφανῶν. ὕβρις
 τε ἄκοσμος ἐπέιχεν αἰεὶ δι' ὀλίγου, καὶ νόμων καὶ δί-
 κης αἰσχυρὰ καταφρόνησις. προϋόντος δ' ἐς μέγα τοῦ
 κακοῦ, ἐπαναστάσεις ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν φανεραὶ καὶ
 στρατεῖαι μεγάλαι καὶ βίαιοι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἐγί-
 γνοντο φυγάδων ἀνδρῶν ἢ καταδίκων, ἢ περὶ ἀρχῆς
 τινος ἢ στρατοπέδου φιλονεικούντων ἐς ἀλλήλους.

3 διετίθεντο, 'were ill-disposed' (in which sense διακέεσθαι is more usual), as in ch. 114. 2 χυλεπῶς διετίθεντο and 7. 7 ἐπ' ἀργίας διετίθεντο, 'were in a state of idleness.' In verse 1 of this chapter the word is used in an active sense, 'composed their differences.'

πλεονεξίαις. 'Quippe utraque pars tanto superiorem se fore altera putabat, quo plus potestatis magistratibus suis accederet' (Schweigh.).

2. 1 εἰλούμενοι (from εἰλέω, later form of Homeric εἰλω or εἶλλω, 'to roll up tight'), 'crowded together'; in sing. ch. 16. 6 'hemmed in.'

3 ἐπέιχεν, 'prevailed.' The verb is used transitively in ch. 77. 3 and ch. 118. 1 'overcame them.'

δυναστεΐαί τε ἦσαν ἤδη κατὰ πολλὰ καὶ στασίάρχοι 4
 μοναρχικοί, οἳ μὲν οὐ μεθιέντες ἔτι τὰ πιστευθέντα
 σφίσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου στρατόπεδα, οἳ δὲ καὶ κατὰ
 σφᾶς ἄνευ τοῦ κοινου κατ' ἀλλήλων ξενολογούντες.
 ὁπότεροι δ' αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν προλάβοιεν, τοῖς ἐτέροις
 ἦν ὁ ἀγὼν λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας, ἔργῳ
 δ' ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα· ἐσέβαλλον γὰρ ὥς ἐς πολεμίαν, 5
 καὶ σφαγαὶ τῶν ἐν ποσὶν ἐγίγνοντο νηλεεῖς, καὶ ἄλλων
 ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προγραφαὶ καὶ φυγαὶ καὶ δημεύσεις, ἐνίων
 δὲ καὶ βάσανοι πάμπαν ἐπαχθεῖς. ἔργον τε οὐδὲν ἀ- 3
 δὲς ἀπὴν, μέχρι τῶνδε τῶν στασιάρχων εἰς, ἔτει πεντη-
 κοστῷ μάλιστα ἀπὸ Γράκχου, Κορινήλιος Σύλλας, κακῷ
 τὸ κακὸν ἰώμενος μόναρχον αὐτὸν ἀπέφηνεν ἐπὶ πλεί-
 στον· οὓς δικτάτορας ἐκάλουν τε, καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς φοβε-
 ρωτάταις χρεαῖς ἐξαμήνους τιθέμενοι ἐκ πολλοῦ δι-
 ελελοίπесαν. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας βία μὲν καὶ ἀνάγκη, λόγῳ 2
 δ' αἰρετός, ἐς αἰὲ δικτάτωρ γενόμενος, ὅμως, ἐπεὶ τε
 ἐκορέσθη τῆς δυναστείας, πρῶτος ἀνδρῶν ὅδε μοι δο-
 κεῖ θαρρῆσαι τυραννικὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκὼν ἀποθέσθαι, καὶ
 ἐπειπεῖν ὅτι καὶ τοῖς μεμφομένοις εὐθύνας ὑφέξει,
 ἰδιώτης τε ὁρώντων ἀπάντων ἐς πολὺ βαδίσαι κατ'
 ἀγορὰν καὶ ἐπανελθεῖν ἀπαθὴς οἴκαδε. τοσοῦτον ἦν 3
 ἄρα τοῖς ὁρώσιν ἔτι τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ δέος, ἢ τῆς ἀπο-
 θέσεως κατάπληξιν, ἢ τῶν εὐθυνῶν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας
 αἰδώς, ἢ ἄλλη φιланθρωπία, καὶ λογισμὸς ἐπὶ συμ-
 φέροντι τὴν τυραννίδα γενέσθαι. ὧδε μὲν ἐπὶ βραχὺ
 ἔληξαν αἱ στάσεις ἐπὶ Σύλλα, καὶ κακῶν ἀντίδοσις ἦν
 ὧν ὁ Σύλλας εἰργάζετο.

Μετὰ δὲ Σύλλαν αὖτις ὅμοια ἀνερριπίζετο, μέχρι 4
 Γάιος Καῖσαρ, αἰρετὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ πολὺ δυναστεύων
 ἐν Γαλατίᾳ, τῆς βουλῆς αὐτὸν ἀποθέσθαι κελευούσης,
 αἰτιώμενος οὐ τὴν βουλὴν ἀλλὰ Πομπήιον, ἐχθρὸν ὄντα

3. 1 ἐπὶ πλείστον, and below, ch. 21. 1 'for an indefinite period'; cf. ἐπὶ πολὺ ch. 4. 1 and ἐς πολὺ ch. 22. 7.

- οἱ καὶ στρατοῦ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἡγούμενον, [ὥς] τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλευόντα παραλύνειν, προτίθει προκλήσεις ἢ ἄμφω τὰ στρατεύματα ἔχειν ἐς τῆς ἔχθρας τὴν ἀφοβίαν ἢ καὶ Πομπήιον οὓς ἔχει μεθέντα ἰδιω-
 2 τεύειν ὁμοίως ὑπὸ νόμοις. οὐ πείθων δ' ἐς οὐδέτερα, ἐκ Γαλατίας ἤλανεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἐς τὴν πατρίδα. ἐσβαλὼν τε ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ διώκων ἐκφυγόντα, περὶ Θεσσαλίαν ἐνίκησε μεγάλη μάχη λαμπρῶς, καὶ ἐδίωκεν ἐς
 3 Αἴγυπτον ὑποφεύγοντα. ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ Πομπήιου πρὸς ἀνδρῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἔστιν ἃ καὶ περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐργασάμενός τε, καὶ ἐπιμείνας
 4 μέχρι καταστήσαιο αὐτῇ τοὺς βασιλέας. στασιώτην τε μέγιστον, ᾧ διὰ μεγαλουργίαν πολεμικὴν μέγας ἐπώνυμον ἦν, οὗτος δὴ μάλιστα πολέμου κράτει σαφῶς καθελὼν, οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ θαρροῦντος ἐς οὐδέν ἔτι ἀντειπεῖν, δεύτερος ἐπὶ Σύλλα δικτάτωρ ἐς τὸ διηνεκές
 5 ἡρέθη· καὶ στάσεις αὐθις κατεπαύοντο πᾶσαι, ἔστε καὶ τόνδε Βρούτος καὶ Κάσσιος, ζήλω τε τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ πόθῳ τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ κατέκανον, δημοτικώτατον καὶ ἐμπειρότατον
 6 ἀρχῆς γενόμενον. ὁ γέ τοι δῆμος αὐτὸν μάλιστα πάντων ἐπεπόθησε, καὶ τοὺς σφαγέας ἐζήτουν περιμόντες, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἔθαψαν ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ, καὶ νεῶν ἐπωκοδόμησαν τῇ πυρᾷ, καὶ θύουσιν ὡς θεῷ.
 5 αἱ δὲ στάσεις ἐπὶ τῷδε μάλιστα αὐθις ἐπανελθοῦσαί τε καὶ ἀυξηθεῖσαι δυνατώτατα ἐς μέγα προῆλθον, καὶ φόνοι καὶ φυγαὶ καὶ ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προγραφαὶ βουλευτῶν τε καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων, κατὰ πλῆθος ἀθρόως ἐκατέρων, ἐγίγνοντο, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀλλήλοις τῶν στασιωτῶν ἀντιπαρεχόντων, καὶ ἐς τοῦτο ἀμελούντων καὶ φίλων καὶ ἀδελφῶν· τοσοῦτον ἐκράτει τῆς
 2 ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα εὐνοίας ἢ ἐς τὰ ἀντίπαλα φιλονεικία. προ-

5. I κατὰ πλῆθος ἀθρόως ἐκατέρων, 'numbers of them from both orders (senators and equites) alike.'

ἰόντες τε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ὡς ἰδιωτικὸν σφῶν κτῆμα
 διενείμαντο ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν τρεῖς οἶδε ἄνδρες, Ἀντωνίος
 τε καὶ Λέπιδος καὶ ὅτῳ πρότερον μὲν Ὀκταούσιος ὄνομα
 ἦν, Καῖσαρι δὲ πρὸς γένους ὦν καὶ θετὸς ἐν διαθή-
 καῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενόμενος Καῖσαρ ἐκ τούτου μετῴνο-
 μάζετο. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ διαιρέσει τῇδε μετὰ βραχὺ συμ- 3
 πεσόντες, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐς ἀλλήλους, ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτῶν
 συνέσει τε καὶ ἐμπειρία προύχων Λέπιδον μὲν πρότε-
 ρον [αὐτῶν], ἣν ἐκεκλήρωτο Λιβύην, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Λεπίδῳ
 καὶ Ἀντώνιον, πολέμῳ περὶ Ἀκτιον, ἀφείλετο τὴν ἀπὸ
 Συρίας ἐπὶ κόλπον τὸν Ἰόνιον ἀρχήν. ἐπὶ τε τούτοις, 4
 μεγίστοις δὴ φανείσι καὶ ἐς ἑκπληξιν ἅπαντας ἐμβαλοῦ-
 σιν, εἶλε καὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐπιπλεύσας, ἣ χρονιωτάτη
 τε ἦν ἐς τότε καὶ δυνατωτάτη μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἀρχή,
 καὶ μόνῃ Ῥωμαίοις ἔλειπεν ἐς τὰ νῦν ὄντα. ὥστε σε- 5
 βαστὸς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις, ἔτι περιῶν, ὅδε πρῶτος
 ὀφθῆναι τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ κληθῆναι πρὸς αὐτῶν, αὐτὸς
 τε ἑαυτόν, ὥσπερ Γάιος, καὶ ἐς το δυνατότερον ἔτι
 Γαίου, ἄρχοντα ἀποφῆναι τῇ τε πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς ὑπ'
 αὐτὴν ἔθνεσιν ἅπασιν, οὐδὲν αἰρέσεως ἢ χειροτονίας
 ἢ προσποιήματος ἔτι δεηθείς. χρονίου δ' αὐτῷ καὶ 6
 ἐγκρατοῦς τῆς ἀρχῆς γενομένης, ἐπιτυχῆς ἐς πάντα
 καὶ φοβερὸς ὦν γένος ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ διαδοχὴν τὴν
 ἐκικρατοῦσαν ὁμοίως ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ κατέλιπεν.

ὧδε μὲν ἐκ στάσεων ποικίλων ἡ πολιτεία Ῥωμαίοις 6
 ἐς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ μοναρχίαν περιέστη ταῦτα δ', ὅπως
 ἐγένετο, συνέγραψα καὶ συνήγαγον, ἀξιοθαύμαστα ὄντα
 τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἰδεῖν φιλοτιμίαν ἀνδρῶν ἄμετρον καὶ
 φιλαρχίαν δεινὴν καρτερίαν τε ἄτρυτον καὶ κακῶν
 ιδέας μυρίων, μάλιστα δ' ὅτι μοι τῆς Αἰγυπτίας συγ- 2

4 μόνῃ Ῥωμαίοις ἔλειπεν ἐς τὰ νῦν ὄντα, 'the only annexation required to complete the Roman empire to its present dimensions.' He omits Britain, the Danube frontier (Pannonia, Moesia, Dacia), and the kingdoms of Galatia, Cappadocia, Judaea, and Mauretania.

- γραφῆς τάδε προηγούμενα, καὶ τελευτήσαντα ἐς ἐκείνην, ἀναγκαῖον ἦν προαναγράψασθαι. ὧδε γὰρ Αἴγυπτος ἐλήφθη, διὰ τήνδε τὴν στάσιν, Ἀντωνίῳ Κλεοπάτρας
 3 συμμαχούσης. διήρηται δ' αὐτῶν, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, ἐνθάδε μὲν ὅσα ἐπὶ Κορνήλιον Σύλλαν ἀπὸ Σεμπρωνίου Γράκχου, ἐξῆς δ' ὅσα μέχρι Γαίου Καίσαρος τῆς τε
 4 λευτῆς. αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ τῶν ἐμφυλίων βίβλοι δεικνύουσιν ὅσα οἱ τρεῖς ἐς ἀλλήλους τε καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἔδρασαν, μέχρι τὸ τελευταῖον δὴ τῶν στάσεων καὶ μέγιστον ἔργον, τὸ περὶ Ἀκτιον Καίσαρι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον ὁμοῦ καὶ Κλεοπάτραν γενόμενον, ἀρχὴ καὶ τῆς Αἰγυπτιακῆς συγγραφῆς ἔσται.
- 7 Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν Ἰταλίαν πολέμῳ κατὰ μέρη χειρούμενοι, γῆς μέρος ἐλάμβανον καὶ πόλεις ἐνώκιζον, ἢ ἐς τὰς πρότερον οὕσας κληρούχους ἀπὸ σφῶν κατέλεγον.
 2 καὶ τάδε μὲν ἀντὶ φρουρίων ἐπενόουν. τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς δορικτῆτος σφίσιν ἐκάστοτε γιγνομένης τὴν μὲν ἐξεργασμένην αὐτίκα τοῖς οἰκίζομένοις ἐπιδιήρουν ἢ ἐπί-
 3 πρασκον ἢ ἐξεμίσθουν, τὴν δ' ἀργὸν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου τότε οὖσαν, ἢ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπλήθυεν, οὐκ ἄγοντές πω σχολὴν διαλαχεῖν, ἐπεκέρυττον ἐν τοσούτῳ τοῖς ἐθέ-

chs. 7, 8. History of the *ager publicus* at Rome.

7. 1-3 The categories of land mentioned are—

(1) *ager colonicus*.

(2) *ager viritim divisus* (ἐπιδιήρουν).

(3) *ager quaestorius* (ἐπίπρασκον).

All these passed into the class of *ager privatus*.

(4) *ager a censoribus locatus* (ἐξεμίσθουν).

(5) The public land of Italy dealt with by the Gracchi.

As regards the fourth category, of which the *ager Campanus* is the type, it is very doubtful whether the land was really let on lease (Bekker), or whether only the right to collect tithe from it (Niebuhr) was let by the censors to publicani. It would be impossible to avoid this question if we were discussing the age of Cicero, but it is of little importance for the history of the agrarian controversy in the time of the Gracchi, for the Campanian land (and probably all other land of the same character in Italy) was expressly exempted from their legislation; cf. Cic.

λουσιν ἐκπονείν ἐπὶ τέλει τῶν ἐτησίων καρπῶν, δεκάτῃ μὲν τῶν σπειρομένων, πέμπτῃ δὲ τῶν φυτεομένων, ὥριστο δὲ καὶ τοῖς προβατεύουσι τέλη μειζόνων τε καὶ ἐλαττόνων ζώων. καὶ τάδε ἔπραττον ἐς πολυανδρίαν 4 τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ γένους, φερεπονωτάτου σφίσιν ὀφθέντος, ἵνα συμμάχους οἰκείους ἔχοιεν. ἐς δὲ τουναντίον αὐτοῖς περιήει. οἱ γὰρ πλούσιοι τῆσδε τῆς ἀνεμήτου 5 γῆς τὴν πολλὴν καταλαβόντες, καὶ χρόνῳ θαρροῦντες οὐ τίνα σφᾶς ἔτι ἀφαιρήσεσθαι, τά τε ἀγχοῦ σφίσιν, ὅσα τε ἦν ἄλλα βραχέα πενήτων, τὰ μὲν ὠνούμενοι πειθοῖ τὰ δὲ βία λαμβάνοντες, πεδία μακρὰ ἀντὶ χωρίων ἐγεώργουν, ὠνητοῖς ἐς αὐτὰ γεωργοῖς καὶ ποιμέσι χρώμενοι τοῦ μὴ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἐς τὰς στρατείας ἀπὸ τῆς γεωργίας περισπᾶν, φερούσης ἅμα καὶ τῆσδε τῆς κτήσεως αὐτοῖς πολὺ κέρδος ἐκ πολυπαιδίας θερα-

cont. Rull. i. 7. 21 and ii. 29. 81 with *Lex Agraria* (Bruns⁶ iii. 11), verse 6.

3 ἐπὶ τέλει, 'on condition of payment of a tax.'

δεκάτῃ τῶν σπειρομένων, &c. The single tithe of crops and double tithe of fruits is not mentioned elsewhere. If it were ever stipulated for, it certainly was not exacted in case of the bulk of the land held by *possessores* in Italy. We find in ch. 27. 2 that a rent was put on it, evidently as a new impost, after the death of C. Gracchus.

ἐκπονείν and τοῖς προβατεύουσι. The land dealt with by the Gracchi falls into two sub-classes, which are distinguished, though too slightly, by these words. The land was used either by squatters (*possessores*) who had exclusive rights against every one except the State, or else by commoners (*pastores*) who might drive their cattle on the wastes, but not to the exclusion of other people; see Festus s.v. *scripturarius* and *Lex Agraria* (Bruns⁶ iii. 11), verse 25.

4 τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ γένους . . . συμμάχους and ch. 8. 1 συμμάχων ἐξ Ἰταλίας. We must not take Appian's words too literally. The persons who were to benefit by agrarian legislation were generally Roman citizens, not allies. He seems rather to be thinking of Roman citizens from the country districts, as opposed to the dwellers in the city of Rome; see notes on ch. 19 and ch. 29.

5 ἐκ πολυπαιδίας θεραπόντων. It is impossible that slaves can have multiplied in a Roman *ergastulum*. In Cato's model

- πόντων, ἀκινδύνως αὐξομένων διὰ τὰς ἀστρατείας.
 6 ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν δυνατοὶ πάμπαν ἐπλούτουν, καὶ
 τὸ τῶν θεραπόντων γένος ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπλήθυνε,
 τοὺς δ' Ἰταλιώτας ὀλιγότης καὶ δυσανδρία κατελάμ-
βανε, τρυχομένους πενία τε καὶ ἐσφοραῖς καὶ στρα-
 7 τείαις. εἰ δὲ καὶ σχολάσειαν ἀπὸ τούτων, ἐπ' ἀργίας
διετίθεντο, τῆς γῆς ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων ἐχομένης, καὶ
γεωργοῖς χρωμένων θεράπουσιν ἀντὶ ἐλευθέρων.
 8 ἐφ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος ἐδυσφόρει μὲν ὥς οὔτε συμμάχων
ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἔτι εὐπορήσων, οὔτε τῆς ἡγεμονίας οἱ γενη-
σομένης ἀκινδύνου διὰ πλήθος τοσόνδε θεραπόντων
διόρθωσιν δ' οὐκ ἐπινοοῦντες, ὥς οὐδὲ ράδιον ὄν,
 οὐδὲ πάντη δίκαιον, ἄνδρας τοσοῦσδε ἐκ τοσοῦδε χρο-
νου κτῆσιν τοσὴνδε ἀφελέσθαι φυτῶν τε ιδίων καὶ
 2 οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ κατασκευῆς, μόλις ποτέ, τῶν δη-
μάρχων ἐσηγουμένων, ἔκριναν μηδένα ἔχειν τῆσδε τῆς
γῆς πλέθρα πεντακοσίων πλείονα, μηδὲ προβατεύειν
ἐκατὸν πλείω τὰ μείζονα καὶ πεντακοσίων τὰ ἐλάσσονα.
 καὶ ἐς ταῦτα δ' αὐτοῖς ἀριθμὸν ἐλευθέρων ἔχειν ἐπ-
έταξαν, οἱ τὰ γιγνόμενα φυλάξειν τε καὶ μηνύσειν

plantation it seems that only the *villicus* is allowed a wife. If, as Appian says (doubtless truly), the number increased, it must have been by reason of a brisk importation of slaves from abroad.

7 ἐπ' ἀργίας διετίθεντο, 'their condition was one of idleness'; see note on ch. 1. 3.

8. 1 οὐδὲ πάντη δίκαιον. Appian here strikes the keynote to the objections to the Agrarian Laws, which he puts alongside of the arguments in their favour more clearly than any other author; see below chs. 10. 2. 3, 18. 2-4.

2 μόλις ποτέ, τῶν δημάρχων ἐσηγουμένων, i. e. in the Licinian Rogations of 367-360 B. C.

μηνύσειν. Schweighäuser says, 'domino renunciarent,' with reference probably to slave rebellions; or it might mean 'note breaches of the law on the part of the landholders and report them to the Roman government.' This clause providing that freemen should be employed is ascribed by Suetonius (Iul. 42) to Caesar the Dictator. No author, except Appian, refers it back to the time of the Licinian Laws.

ἔμελλον. οἱ μὲν δὴ τὰδε νόμῳ περιλαβόντες ἐπώμο-³
 σαν ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ καὶ ζημίαν ὥρισαν, ἡγούμενοι τὴν
 λοιπὴν γῆν αὐτίκα τοῖς πένησι κατ' ὀλίγον διαπεπρα-
σεσθαι. φροντίς δ' οὐδεμία ἦν οὔτε τῶν νόμων οὔτε
 τῶν ὄρκων, ἀλλ' οἳ τινες καὶ ἐδόκουν φροντίσαι, τὴν
 γῆν ἐς τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπὶ ὑποκρίσει διένεμον, οἱ δὲ
 πολλοὶ τέλεον κατεφρόνουν· μέχρι Τιβέριος Σεμπρώ-⁹
 νιος Γράκχος, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανὴς καὶ λαμπρὸς ἐς φιλοτι-
 μίαν, εἰπεῖν τε δυνατώτατος, καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε ὁμοῦ πάν-
 των γνωριμώτατος ἅπασι, δημαρχῶν ἐσεμνολόγησε περὶ
 τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ γένους ὡς εὐπολεμωτάτου τε καὶ συγ-
 γενοῦς, φθειρομένου δὲ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐς ἀπορίαν καὶ
 ὀλιγανδρίαν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐλπίδα ἔχοντος ἐς διόρθωσιν.
 ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ δουλικῷ δυσχεράνας ὡς ἀστρατεύῳ καὶ²
 οὔποτε ἐς δεσπότης πιστῷ, τὸ ἔναγχος ἐπήνεγκεν ἐν
 Σικελίᾳ δεσποτῶν πάθος ὑπὸ θεραπόντων γενόμενον,
 ἠϋξημένων κἀκείνων ἀπὸ γεωργίας, καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐ-
 τοὺς Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον οὐ ῥάδιον οὐδὲ βραχύν, ἀλλ'
 ἔς τε μῆκος χρόνου καὶ τροπὰς κινδύνων ποικίλας ἐκ-
 τραπέντα. ταῦτα δὲ εἰπὼν ἀνεκαίνιζε τὸν νόμον μη-³
 δένα τῶν πεντακοσίων πλέθρων πλεον ἔχειν. παισὶ
 δ' αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον προσετίθει τὰ ἡμί-

3 κατ' ὀλίγον, 'piecemeal.' The meaning apparently is that there was no machinery in the Licinian Law for taking away the excess land from the *possessores* and allotting it to the poor, but that the present holders were left gradually to conform to the law by *selling* their excess land in lots of such a size as would not transgress the limit prescribed. It is hardly likely, however, that the *possessores* would have been formally authorized to sell land belonging to the State.

chs. 9-16. Tribune and legislation of Tiberius Gracchus, B.C. 133.

9. 1 μέχρι. This word covers a gap of about 250 years between Licinius Stolo and Tib. Gracchus. During the earlier portion of this period the agrarian question had been less urgent owing to the number of colonies founded.

2 τὸ ἔναγχος, 'lately'; in the Sicilian slave insurrection of 135 B.C.

σεα τούτων· καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν τρεις αἰρετοὺς ἄνδρας,
ἐναλλασσομένους κατ' ἔτος, διανέμειν τοῖς πένησιν.

- 10 τοῦτο δ' ἦν ὃ μάλιστα ἠνώχλει τοὺς πλουσίους, οὐ
δυναμένους ἔτι, ὥς πρότερον, τοῦ νόμου καταφρονεῖν,
διὰ τοὺς διαιροῦντας, οὐδὲ ὠνεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν κλη-
ρουμένων· ὁ γάρ τοι Γράκχος καὶ τότε προῖδόμενος,
2 ἀπηγόρευε μὴ πωλεῖν. συνιστάμενοι δὴ κατὰ μέρος
ὠλοφύροντο, καὶ προῦφερον τοῖς πένησιν ἀρχαῖά τε
ἔργα ἑαυτῶν καὶ φυτὰ καὶ οἰκοδομίας, καὶ τιμὴν ἔνιοι
δεδομένην γείτοσιν, εἰ καὶ τήνδε μετὰ τῆς γῆς ἀπ-
ολούσι, τάφους τε ἔνιοι πατέρων ἐν τῇ γῇ, καὶ διαι-
ρέσεις ἐπὶ τοῖς κλήροις ὥς πατρώοις, οἳ δὲ καὶ προίκας
γυναικῶν ἐς ταῦτα ἀναλωμένας, ἢ τὴν γῆν παισὶν
3 ἐμπροίκιον δεδομένην. δανεισταί τε χρέα καὶ ταύτης
ἐπεδείκνυν, καὶ ἄκοσμος ἦν ὅλως οἰμωγὴ καὶ ἀγανά-

3 ἐναλλασσομένους κατ' ἔτος. This seems unlikely, when we consider that C. Gracchus despite his long absence in Sardinia was still a land commissioner in 124 B. C. (ch. 21. 4), and that Fulvius Flaccus, appointed soon after the death of Tib. Gracchus (see on ch. 18. 1), was commissioner as well as consul in 125 B. C. (ch. 21. 3). We should have expected likewise (if the office was really so limited as Appian says) to have some reference to the point in the passage in which Cicero (cont. Rull. ii. 12. 31) compares the moderation of the Gracchi with the extravagances of Rullus.

10. 1 διὰ τοὺς διαιροῦντας. This commission was the great innovation in Gracchus's re-enactment of the Licinian Law. Its main functions were executive, to evict *possessores* from land above the Licinian limit and to distribute such land among poor citizens; but also incidentally judicial, to decide what land was *ager publicus* (see ch. 19. 2).

2 διαίρεσεις ἐπὶ τοῖς κλήροις ὥς πατρώοις, 'divisions between co-heirs made on the principle of treating these lots as if they were part of the paternal inheritance.' If a man left 3,000 acres of private and 3,000 of possessed public land, each of his sons would be equally ready to accept his share in one or the other. The same thing might easily occur in England in the division of an estate consisting partly of freehold partly of copyhold land. It would be almost a matter of indifference which sort of land each one received.

κτησις. οἱ δ' αὖ πένητες ἀντωδύροντο ἐξ εὐπορίας ἐς 4
 πενίαν ἐσχάτην, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐς ἀγониάν, οὐ δυνά-
 μενοι παιδοτροφεῖν, περιφέρεσθαι. στρατείας τε ὅσας
 στρατεύσαιντο τὴν γῆν τήνδε περιποιοῦμενοι, κατέλε-
 γον, καὶ ἡγανάκτουν εἰ τῶν κοινῶν ἀποστερήσονται.
 ὠνείδιζόν τε ἅμα αὐτοῖς αἱρουμένοις ἀντὶ ἐλευθέρων 5
 καὶ πολιτῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν θεράποντας, ἄπιστον
 ἔθνος καὶ δυσμενὲς αἰεὶ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀσπράτευτον.
 τοιαῦθ' ἐκατέρων ὀδυρομένων τε καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐπι- 6
 καλούντων, πλῆθος ἄλλο ὅσον ἐν ταῖς ἀποίκις πόλεσιν
 ἢ ταῖς ἰσοπολίτισιν ἢ ἄλλως ἐκοινώνει τῇσδε τῆς γῆς,

6 ἢ ταῖς ἰσοπολίτισιν. This is generally translated 'in the municipia,' and the interpretation is supported by a passage in the *Lex Agraria* of 111 B. C. (Bruns⁶ iii. 11), verse 31, where rights are confirmed in case 'coloneis sive municipiis seive quoi pro municipiis coloneisve sunt civium R. nominisve Latini poplice deve senatus sententia ager fruendus datus est.' Most of the *municipia* (originally communities of *cives sine suffragio*) had, however, by this time received the full Roman franchise, while the aggrieved persons here mentioned seem to be the same as those whose cause Scipio afterwards took up (chs. 18 and 19), and these were certainly allies and not Romans. Probably then the *ἰσοπολίτιδες* here are not *municipia* but the *civitates foederatae* of Italy. The word *ἰσοπολιτεία* is used in the sense of *aequum foedus* by Dionysius (iv. 58).

ἢ ἄλλως ἐκοινώνει τῆς γῆς, 'or on other grounds had possession of the land.' It is possible that some of the Italian states may have had their lands formally confiscated after conquest or rebellion without the confiscation having been actually carried out, and that they may have been allowed to remain in permissive occupation. This was the case later on with the Volaterrans after the confiscations of Sulla. Cicero more than once interposed to save them when divisions of public land were threatened. If any of the Italian allies in the time of Gracchus were in a similar position, the land of such states would be in strict law *ager publicus populi Romani* and as such liable to be seized by the commissioners. To assert in this manner the rights of conquest retrospectively would have been intolerably harsh. Appian does not mention this, and speaks (ch. 18. 2) as if the grievance of the allies was only the uncertainty of boundaries, but it is difficult to see why this uncertainty should affect them more than the Romans and cause the allies to be (ch. 21. 2) those οἱ περὶ

- δεδιότες ὁμοίως ἐπήεσαν καὶ ἐς ἑκατέρους αὐτῶν διμε-
 7 ρίζοντο. πλήθει τε θαρροῦντες ἐξετραχύνοντο, καὶ
 στάσεις ἐξάπτοντες ἀμέτρους τὴν δοκιμασίαν τοῦ νόμου
 περιέμενον, οἱ μὲν ὥς οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ συγχωρήσοντες
 αὐτὸν γενέσθαι κύριον, οἱ δ' ὥς κυρώσοντες ἐξ ἅπαν-
 8 τος. φιλονεικία δὲ ἑκατέροις προσέπιπτεν ἐπὶ τῇ χρεία,
 καὶ ἐς τὴν κυρίαν ἡμέραν παρασκευὴ κατ' ἀλλήλων.
 11 Γράκχῳ δ' ὁ μὲν νοῦς τοῦ βουλευματος ἦν οὐκ
 ἐς εὐπορίαν ἀλλ' ἐς εὐανδρίαν, τοῦ δὲ ἔργου τῇ ὥφε-
 λείᾳ μάλιστα αἰωρούμενος, ὥς οὔ τι μείζον οὐδὲ λαμ-
 πρότερον δυναμένης ποτὲ παθεῖν τῆς Ἰταλίας, τοῦ
 2 περὶ αὐτὸ δυσχεροῦς οὐδ' ἐνεθυμείτο. ἐνστάσης δὲ
 τῆς χειροτονίας, πολλὰ μὲν ἄλλα προεῖπεν ἐπαγωγὰ
 καὶ μακρά, διηρώτα δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἰ δίκαιον τὰ κοινὰ
 κοινῇ διανέμεσθαι, καὶ εἰ γνησιώτερος αἰὲν θεράπωντος
 ὁ πολίτης, καὶ χρησιμώτερος ὁ στρατιώτης ἀπολέμου,
 3 καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις εὐνούστερος ὁ κοινωνός. οὐκ ἐς
 πολὺ δὲ τὴν σύγκρισιν ὥς ἄδοξον ἐπενεγκών, αὐτὸς
 ἐπῆει τὰς τῆς πατρίδος ἐλπίδας καὶ φόβους, διεξιὼν
 ὅτι πλείστης γῆς ἐκ πολέμου βία κατέχοντες, καὶ τὴν
 λοιπὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης χώραν ἐν ἐλπίδι ἔχοντες, κιν-
 δυνεύουσιν ἐν τῷδε περὶ ἀπάντων, ἢ κτήσασθαι καὶ
 τὰ λοιπὰ δι' εὐανδρίαν, ἢ καὶ τάδε δι' ἀσθένειαν καὶ
 4 φθόνον ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν ἀφαιρεθῆναι. ὦν τοῦ μὲν τὴν
 δόξαν καὶ εὐπορίαν τοῦ δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον καὶ φόβον
 ὑπερεπαίρων, ἐκέλευε τοὺς πλουσίους, ἐνθυμουμένους
 ταῦτα, ἐπιδόσιμον, εἰ δέοι, παρὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν τήνδε
 τὴν γῆν ἐς τὰς μελλούσας ἐλπίδας τοῖς παιδοτροφούσι

τῆς γῆς μάλιστα ἀντέλεγον. It is to be noticed likewise that in
 ch. 36. 2 Appian implies that besides possible disputes as to the
 title of their own land the allies feared eviction from some
 which certainly was the property of the Roman people.

7 ἐξ ἁπαντος, 'by one means or another.'

8 ἐπὶ τῇ χρεία, 'besides the interests involved, party spirit
 stimulated them.'

χαρίσασθαι, καὶ μὴ, ἐν ᾧ περὶ μικρῶν διαφέρονται,
 τῶν πλεόνων ὑπεριδεῖν, μισθὸν ἅμα τῆς πεπονημέ- 5
 νης ἔξεργασίας αὐτάρκη φερομένους τὴν ἐξαίρετον
ἄνευ τιμῆς κτῆσιν ἐς αἰὲ βέβαιον ἐκάστω πεντακοσίων
 πλέθρων, καὶ παισίν, οἷς εἰσὶ παῖδες, ἐκάστω καὶ
 τούτων τὰ ἡμίσεια. τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ὁ Γράκχος εἰπὼν, 6
 τοὺς τε πένητας καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι λογισμῷ μᾶλλον ἢ
 πόθῳ κτήσεως ἐχρῶντο ἐρεθίσας, ἐκέλευε τῷ γραμμα-
 τεῖ τὸν νόμον ἀναγνῶναι. Μάρκος δ' Ὀκταούιος δὴ- 12
 μαρχος ἕτερος, ὑπὸ τῶν κτηματικῶν διακωλύειν παρ-
 εσκευασμένος, καὶ ὦν αἰὲ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ὁ κωλύων
 δυνατώτερος, ἐκέλευε τὸν γραμματέα σιγᾶν. καὶ τότε 2
 μὲν αὐτῷ πολλὰ μεμψάμενος ὁ Γράκχος ἐς τὴν ἐπι-
 οῦσαν ἀγορὰν ἀνέθετο . . . φυλακὴν τε παραστησάμενος 3
 ἱκανὴν ὡς καὶ ἄκοντα βιασόμενος Ὀκταοῦιον, ἐκέλευε
 σὺν ἀπειλῇ τῷ γραμματεῖ τὸν νόμον ἐς τὸ πλῆθος
 ἀναγιγνώσκειν. καὶ ἀνεγίγνωσκε, καὶ Ὀκταοῦιου κω-
 λύοντος ἐσιώπα. λαιδοριῶν δὲ τοῖς δημάρχοις ἐς ἀλλή- 4
 λους γενομένων, καὶ τοῦ δήμου θορυβοῦντος ἱκανῶς,
 οἱ δυνατοὶ τοὺς δημάρχους ἡξίουσαν ἐπιτρέψαι τῇ βουλῇ
 περὶ ᾧ διαφέρονται· καὶ ὁ Γράκχος ἀρπάσας τὸ λεχθέν,
 ὡς δὴ πᾶσι τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν ἀρέσοντος τοῦ νόμου,
 διέτρεχεν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον. ἐκεῖ δ', ὡς ἐν ὀλίγοις, 5
 ὑβριζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων, αὐθις ἐκδραμὼν ἐς τὴν

11. 5 τὴν ἐξαίρετον ἄνευ τιμῆς κτῆσιν. This explains the vague expression of Plutarch (Tib. Gracch. 9. 2) *τιμὴν προσλαβόντας*. The compensation for improvements effected was to consist in the gift of a small portion of the public land which they already possessed and had long considered as their own. Plutarch tells us (Tib. Gracch. ch. 10. 3) that Tiberius, irritated by opposition, afterwards withdrew this *φιλόανθρωπος νόμος* and simply re-enacted the Licinian Law with a commission to enforce it (*κελεύων ἐξίστασθαι τῆς χώρας ἣν ἐκέκτηντο παρὰ τοὺς προτέρους νόμους*). Thus the *possessor* would be allowed to retain his 500 jugera but only *precario*, as before. The Law of 111 B. C. (Bruns⁶ iii. 11), verses 1 and 2, eventually gave this over to the *possessor* as *ager privatus*.

ἀγορὰν ἔφη διαψήφισιν προθήσειν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἀγορὰν περί τε τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ὀκταοῦιου, εἰ χρὴ δῆμαρχον ἀντιπράττοντα τῷ δήμῳ τὴν 6 ἀρχὴν ἐπέχειν. καὶ ἔπραξεν οὕτως· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ Ὀκταοῦιος οὐδὲν καταπλαγεῖς αὐτὸς ἐνίστατο, ὃ δὲ προτέραν τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ ψήφον ἀνεδίδου. καὶ τῆς πρώτης φυλῆς καταψηφισαμένης τῇ ἀρχὴν τὸν Ὀκταοῦιον ἀποθέσθαι, ἐπιστραφεὶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Γράκχος ἐδεῖτο μεταθέσθαι. οὐ πειθομένου δὲ τὰς ἄλλας ψήφους ἐπ- 7 ἤγεν. οὐσῶν δὲ τότε φυλῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα, καὶ συνδραμουσῶν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ σὺν ὀργῇ τῶν προτέρων ἐπτακαίδεκα, ἡ μὲν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ τὸ κῦρος ἔμελλεν ἐπιθήσειν, ὁ δὲ Γράκχος αὐτὸς, ἐν ὅψει τοῦ δήμου, τότε μάλιστα κινδυνεύοντι τῷ Ὀκταοῦίῳ λιπαρῶς ἐνέκειτο, μὴ ἔργον ὀσιώτατον καὶ χρησιμώτατον Ἰταλία πάσῃ συγχέαι, μηδὲ σπουδὴν τοῦ δήμου τοσήνδε ἀνατρέψαι, ὧς τι καὶ παρενδοῦναι προθυμουμένῳ δῆμαρχον ὄντα ἤρμοξε, καὶ μὴ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρου- 8 μένην περιδεῖν ἐπὶ καταγνώσει. καὶ τὰδε λέγων, καὶ θεοὺς μαρτυρόμενος ἅκων ἄνδρα σύναρχον ἀτιμοῦν, ὥς οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἐπήγε τὴν ψήφον. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ὀκτα-

12. 5 εἰ χρὴ δῆμαρχον ἀντιπράττοντα τῷ δήμῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπέχειν. Plutarch (Tib. Gracch. 15. 3) put the doctrine picturesquely, 'the tribune who pulls down the Capitol or burns the docks is a bad tribune but still a tribune, whereas he who opposes the interests of the people is no tribune at all.'

7 ὧς τι καὶ παρενδοῦναι προθυμουμένῳ δῆμαρχον ὄντα ἤρμοξε. Compare Polybius vi. 16. 5 ὀφείλουσι δ' αἰεὶ ποιεῖν οἱ δῆμαρχοι τὸ δοκοῦν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ μάλιστα στοχάζεσθαι τῆς τούτου βουλῆσεως. This was a dangerous survival of a historical idea which had ceased to be a working fact. In this age the really important function of the tribunate was to be a check by means of the veto on any magistrate who would not conform to the wishes of the senate. By setting aside the veto Tiberius Gracchus struck at the root of the institution, which thenceforth became mischievous. His act really began the Revolution and led up to a despotism.

ἐπὶ καταγνώσει, 'by way of censure.'

οὔτις αὐτίκα ιδιώτης γενόμενος, διαλαθὼν ἀπεδίδρα-
σκε· Κόιντος δὲ Μούμιος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ δήμαρχος ἡρέϊτο, 13
καὶ ὁ νόμος ὁ περὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκυροῦτο. διανέμειν τε 2
αὐτὴν ἐκεχειροτόνηντο πρῶτοι Γράκχος αὐτὸς ὁ νομο-
θέτης, καὶ ἀδελφὸς ὁμώνυμος ἐκείνου, καὶ ὃς ἐκήδευε
τῷ νομοθέτῃ Κλαύδιος Ἀππίος, πᾶν τοῦ δήμου καὶ
ὥς δεδιότος μὴ τὸ ἔργον ἐκλειφθεῖν τοῦ νόμου, εἰ μὴ
Γράκχος αὐτοῦ σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκίᾳ κατάρχοιτο. Γράκχος 3
δὲ μεγαλαυχούμενος ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ, ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους,
οἷα δὴ κτίστης οὐ μιᾶς πόλεως οὐδ' ἐνὸς γένους ἀλλὰ
πάντων ὅσα ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἔθνη, ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν παρεπέμ-
πετο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν κεκρατηκότες ἐς τοὺς 4
ἀγροὺς ἀνεχώρουν, ὅθεν ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἐληλύθεσαν, οἱ δ'
ἡσημέριοι δυσφοροῦντες ἔτι παρέμενον καὶ ἐλογοποι-
ουν, οὐ χαιρήσειν Γράκχον αὐτίκα ὅτε γένοιτο ιδιώ-
της, ἀρχὴν τε ὑβρίσαντα ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον, καὶ στά-
σεως τοσὴνδε ἀφορμὴν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐμβαλόντα.

θέρος δ' ἦν ἤδη, καὶ προγραφαὶ δημάρχων ἐς τὸ 14
μέλλον καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι, τῆς χειροτονίας πλησιαζού-
σης, ἔνδηλοι σαφῶς ἦσαν ἐσπουδακότες ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν
τοῖς μάλιστα Γράκχῳ πολεμίαις. ὁ δ' ἐγγὺς τοῦ κακοῦ 2
γιγνομένου δείσας εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἔσοιτο δή-
μαρχος, συνεκάλει τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν χειρο-
τονίαν. ἀσχολουμένων δ' ἐκείνων ὥς ἐν θέρει, συν- 3
ελαυνόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς προθεσμίας ὀλίγης ἐς τὴν χειρο-
τονίαν ἔτι οὔσης ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ ἅστει δῆμον κατέφυγε,
καὶ περιωὴν κατὰ μέρος ἐκάστων ἐδεῖτο δήμαρχον αὐτὸν
ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἐλέσθαι, κινδυνεύοντα δι' ἐκείνους. γι- 4

14. 3 ὑπὸ τῆς προθεσμίας, 'owing to the shortness of the time remaining before the day announced for the election.' It is to be noticed that the franchise was already locally extended far enough to destroy the representative value of the *comitia*. The out-voters could not be got together, and it became more and more a matter of accident or management how the sovereign assembly was composed.

γνομένης δὲ τῆς χειροτονίας, δύο μὲν ἔφθασαν αἱ
 πρῶται φυλαὶ Γράκχον ἀποφῆναι, τῶν δὲ πλουσίων
 ἐνισταμένων οὐκ ἔννομον εἶναι δις ἐφεξῆς τὸν αὐτὸν
 ἄρχειν, καὶ Ῥουβρίου δημάρχου, τοῦ προεστάναι τῆς
 ἐκκλησίας ἐκείνης διειληχότος, ἐνδοιάζοντος ἐπὶ τῷδε.
 Μούμμιος αὐτόν, ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ Ὀκταοῦνῳ δημαρχεῖν ἡρη-
 5 μένος, ἐκέλευεν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιτρέψαι. καὶ
 ὁ μὲν ἐπέτρεψεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ δῆμαρχοι περὶ τῆς ἐπι-
 στασίας ἡξίουν ἀνακληροῦσθαι. Ῥουβρίου γὰρ τοῦ
 λαχόντος ἐκστάντος, αὖθις ἐς ἅπαντας τὴν διακλήρω-
 6 σιν περιμέναι. ἔριδος δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε πολλῆς γενο-
 μένης, ὁ Γράκχος ἐλαττούμενος τὴν μὲν χειροτονίαν
 ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἀνέθετο, πάντα δ' ἀπογνοὺς
 ἐμελανειμόνει τε ἔτι ὢν ἑναρχος, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς
 ἡμέρας ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπάγων ἐκάστοις συνίστη
 καὶ παρετίθετο ὡς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτίκα
 15 ἀπολούμενος. οἴκτου δὲ πολλοῦ σὺν λογισμῷ τοὺς
 πένητας ἐπιλαμβάνοντος ὑπὲρ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν ὡς οὐκ
 ἐν ἰσονόμῳ πολιτευσόντων ἔτι ἀλλὰ δουλευσόντων
 κατὰ κράτος τοῖς πλουσίοις, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Γράκχου
 τοιαῦτα δεδιότος τε καὶ πάσχοντος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, σὺν
 τε οἰμωγῇ προπεμπόντων αὐτὸν ἀπάντων ἐπὶ τὴν οἰ-
 κίαν ἐσπέρας, καὶ θαρρεῖν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν
 2 ἐπικελευόντων, ἀναθαρρήσας ὁ Γράκχος, ἔτι νυκτὸς
 τοὺς στασιώτας συναγαγών, καὶ σημείον εἰ καὶ μάχης
 δεήσειεν ὑποδείξας, κατέλαβε τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τὸν νεών,
 ἔνθα χειροτονήσειν ἔμελλον, καὶ τὰ μέσα τῆς ἐκκλη-
 3 σίας. ἐνοχλούμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων καὶ τῶν
 πλουσίων, οὐκ ἐόντων ἀναδοθῆναι περὶ αὐτοῦ χειρο-
 τονίαν, ἀνέσχε τὸ σημεῖον. καὶ βοῆς ἄφνω παρὰ τῶν
 4 συνειδόντων γενομένης, χεῖρές τε ἦσαν ἤδη τὸ ἀπὸ
 τοῦδε, καὶ τῶν Γρακχείων οἱ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐφύλαττον
 οἳά τινες δορυφόροι, οἱ δὲ τὰ ἱμάτια διαζωσάμενοι,
 ῥάβδους καὶ ξύλα τὰ ἐν χερσὶ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἀρπάσαν-

τέες τε καὶ διακλάσαντες ἐς πολλά, τοὺς πλουσίους ἐξ-
 ήλαννον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, σὺν τοσῶδε ταραχῇ καὶ
 τραύμασιν ὥς τοὺς τε δημάρχους δείσαντας διαφυγεῖν
 ἐκ μέσου, καὶ τὸν νεῶν τοὺς ἱερέας ἐπικλείσαι, δρόμον
 τε πολλῶν ἄκοσμον εἶναι καὶ φυγὴν, καὶ λόγον οὐκ 5
 ἀκριβῆ τῶν μὲν ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δημάρχους ὁ
 Γράκχος παραλύει τῆς ἀρχῆς (οὐ γὰρ ὀρωμένων αὐτῶν
 εἵκαζον οὕτω), τῶν δ' ὅτι αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸ μέλλον
 δῆμαρχον ἄνευ χειροτονίας ἀποφαίνει. γιγνομένων δὲ 16
 τούτων ἡ βουλὴ συνήλθεν ἐς τὸ τῆς Πίστεως ἱερόν.
 καὶ μοι θαῦμα καταφαίνεται τὸ πολλάκις ἐν τοιοῖσδε φό-
 βοις διὰ τῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἀρχῆς διασεσσωμένους τότε
 μὴδ' ἐπὶ νοῦν τὸν δικτάτορα λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ χρησιμώ-
 τατον τοῖς προτέροις τόδε τὸ ἔργον εὑρεθὲν μὴδ' ἐν
 μνήμῃ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἄρα γενέσθαι, μήτε τότε μήθ'
 ὕστερον. κρίναντες δ' ὅσα ἔκριναν, ἐς τὸ Καπιτώ- 2
 λιον ἀνῆσαν. καὶ πρῶτος αὐτοῖς ὁ μέγιστος ἀρχιε-
 ρεὺς λεγόμενος ἐξῆρχε τῆς ὁδοῦ, Κορνήλιος Σκιπίων
 ὁ Νασικάς. ἐβόα τε μέγιστον ἔπεσθαί οἱ τοὺς ἐθέλον- 3
 τας σώζεσθαι τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ τὸ κράσπεδον τοῦ ἱμα-
 τίου ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν περιεσύρατο, εἴτε τῷ παρασήμῳ
 τοῦ σχήματος πλεονάς οἱ συντρέχειν ἐπισπώμενος, εἴτε

16. 1 τότε μὴδ' ἐπὶ νοῦν τὸν δικτάτορα λαβεῖν. Appian forgets that long before this the Dictator had been subjected to *provocatio* inside the walls (see Festus s. v. Optima Lex).

2 κρίναιτες δ' ὅσα ἔκριναν. Appian seems uncertain whether or not the *ultimum senatus consultum* (*videant consules ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat*) was passed on this occasion. The more detailed account in Plutarch shows that this was not the case. Nasica, after vainly urging the consul Scaevola to take action against Gracchus, attacked him without any further authorization, acting on his own responsibility as a 'tumultuarius miles'; cf. Cic. Pro Plancio 36. 88 'arma quae privatus P. Scipio sumpserat.'

3 τῷ παρασήμῳ τοῦ σχήματος. Benecke's interpretation, 'by displaying the badge of his rank' (i. e. the *toga praetexta* which Nasica would wear as pontiff), is tempting, but I can find no

- πολέμου τι σύμβολον τοῖς ὀρώσιν ὡς κόρυθα ποιούμενος, εἴτε θεοὺς ἐγκαλυπτόμενος ὧν ἔμελλε δράσειν, 4 ἀνελθόντι δὲ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τοῖς Γρακχείοις ἐπιδραμόντι εἶξαν μὲν ὡς κατ' ἀξίωσιν ἀνδρὶ ἀρίστῳ, καὶ 5 τὴν βουλὴν ἅμα οἱ θεωροῦντες ἐπιούσαν· οἱ δὲ τὰ ξύλα τῶν Γρακχείων αὐτῶν περισπάσαντες, ὅσα τε βάρη καὶ ἄλλη παρασκευὴ ὡς ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συνενήνεκτο διελόντες, ἔπαιον αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐδίωκον καὶ ἐς τὰ 6 ἀπόκρημνα κατερρίπτουν. κὰν τῷδε τῷ κυδοιμῷ πολλοί τε τῶν Γρακχείων καὶ Γράκχος αὐτός, εἰλούμενος περὶ τὸ ἱερόν, ἀνῆρέθη κατὰ τὰς θύρας, παρὰ τοὺς τῶν βασιλέων ἀνδριάντας. καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς νυκτὸς ἐξέρριψαν ἐς τὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ.
- 17 οὕτω μὲν δὴ Γράκχος ὁ Γράκχου τοῦ δις ὑπατεύσαντος καὶ Κορνηλίας τῆς Σκιπίωνος τοῦ Καρχηδονίου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀφελομένου παῖς, ἀρίστου βουλευματος ἔνεκα, βιαίως αὐτῷ προσιών, ἀνῆρητο ἔτι 2 μαρχῶν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ. καὶ πρῶτον ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τόδε μύσος γενόμενον οὐ διέλιπεν αἰεὶ τίνος ὁμοίου 3 γιγνομένου παρὰ μέρος. ἡ δὲ πόλις ἐπὶ τῷ Γράκχου φόνῳ διήρητο ἐς λύπην καὶ ἡδονήν, οἱ μὲν οἰκτεῖροντες αὐτοὺς τε κἀκείνον καὶ τὰ παρόντα ὡς οὐκέτι πολιτείαν ἀλλὰ χειροκρατίαν καὶ βίαν, οἱ δ' ἐξειργάσθαι σφίσιν ἡγούμενοι πᾶν ὅσον ἐβούλοντο. καὶ τὰδε 4 μὲν ἦν, ὅτε Ἀριστόνικος Ῥωμαίοις περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπολέμει τῆς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ.
- 18 ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ Γράκχου καὶ τελευτήσαντος Ἀππίου

such sense for σχῆμα: it seems best to follow Schweighäuser and translate 'by the strangeness of his appearance.'

ἐγκαλυπτόμενος, 'covering himself from shame of the gods with respect to the deed which he intended.'

6 εἰλούμενος, 'hemmed in'; see ch. 2. 1.

17. 4 Ἀριστόνικος, a bastard son of Eumenes of Pergamum: the war began in this year 133 B.C. but lasted down to 129 B.C.

chs. 18-21, 3. Proceedings of Scipio Aemilianus and Fulvius Flaccus after the death of Tib. Gracchus.

Κλανδίου, ἀντικαθίστανται μὲν ἐς τὸ τὴν γῆν ἅμα τῷ νεωτέρῳ Γράκῳ διανέμειν Φούλουιος Φλάκκος καὶ Παπίριος Κάρβων, ἀμελούντων δὲ τῶν κεκτημένων αὐτὴν ἀπογράφεσθαι, κατηγόρους ἐκήρυττον ἐνδεικνύναι. καὶ 2 ταχὺ πλῆθος ἦν δικῶν χαλεπῶν· ὅση γὰρ ἄλλη πλησιάζουσα τῇδε ἐπέπρατο ἢ τοῖς συμμαχοῖς ἐπιδιήρητο, διὰ τὸ τῆσδε μέτρον ἐζητάζετο ἅπαντα, ὅπως τε ἐπέπρατο καὶ ὅπως ἐπιδιήρητο, οὔτε τὰ συμβόλαια οὔτε τὰς κληρουχίας ἔτι ἐχόντων ἀπάντων. ἃ δὲ καὶ ἡύρισκετο, ἀμφίλογα ἦν. ἀναμετρομένης τε αὐτῆς, οἱ μὲν ἐκ 3 πεφυτευμένης καὶ ἐπαύλεων ἐς ψιλὴν μετετίθεντο, οἱ δ' ἐξ ἐνεργῶν ἐς ἀργὸν ἢ λίμνας ἢ τέλματα, οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς ἐπὶ δορικτήτοις ἀκριβῇ πεποιημένοι. καὶ τὸ 4 κήρυγμα, τὴν ἀνέμητον ἐξεργάζεσθαι τὸν ἐθέλοντα προλέγον, ἐπῆρε πολλοὺς τὰ πλησίον ἐκπονοῦντας τὴν ἐκατέρας ὄψιν συγχέαι· χρόνος τε ἐπελθὼν ἐνεόχμωσε πάντα. καὶ τὸ τῶν πλουσίων ἀδίκημα, καίπερ ὃν 5 μέγα, δυσεπίγνωστον ἦν. καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ πάντων ἀνάστασις ἐγίνετο, μεταφερομένων τε καὶ μετοικιζομένων ἐς ἀλλότρια.

ταῦτά τε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν δικαζόντων 19 ἐπέξεις οὐ φέροντες οἱ Ἰταλιῶται Κορνήλιον Σκιπίωνα, ὃς Καρχηδόνα ἐπόρθησεν, ἡξίουσαν προστάτην

18. 1 Plut. (Tib. Gracch. 21. 1) tells us that the immediate successor of Tib. Gracchus in the land commission was P. Licinius Crassus. He is recorded in inscriptions as colleague of Ap. Claudius and Caius Gracchus (Corpus Inscr. Lat. i. 552). He was killed in Asia soon after (130 B. C.) and was doubtless then succeeded by Fulvius Flaccus.

2 ἐζητάζετο, 'owing to the measuring out of the public land was subjected to an inquisition as to title.'

3 οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν . . . ἀκριβῇ. If this is to stand, we must translate 'they had not made out their original selection with any exactitude.'

4 τὰ πλησίον ἐκπονοῦντας, 'many of those who owned neighbouring farms (as private land) were tempted to obliterate the distinction between the private and the public land.'

2 σφῶν ἀδικουμένων γενέσθαι. ὁ δ' ἐς τοὺς πολέμους
 αὐτοῖς κεχρημένος προθυμοτάτοις ὑπεριδεῖν τε ὤκνησε,
 καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸν μὲν Γράκχου
 νόμον οὐκ ἔψεγε διὰ τὸν δῆμον σαφῶς, τὴν δὲ τοῦδε
 δυσχέρειαν ἐπέξιὼν ἡξίου τὰς δίκας οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν διαι-
ρούντων ὡς ὑπόπτων τοῖς δικαζομένοις, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἐτέ-
 3 ρων λέγεσθαι. ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἔπεισεν, εἶναι δο-
 κούντι δικαίῳ· καὶ Τουδιτανὸς αὐτοῖς ὑπατεύων ἐδόθη
 4 δικάζειν. ἀλλ' ὅδε μὲν ἀψάμενος τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τὴν
 δυσχέρειαν ἰδὼν ἐπ' Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐστράτευε, πρόφασιν
 τήνδε ποιούμενος τοῦ μὴ δικάζειν· οἱ δὲ τὴν γῆν
 διανέμοντες, οὐκ ἀπαντῶντος ἐς αὐτοὺς οὐδενὸς ἐς
 5 δίκην, ἐπ' ἀργίας ἦσαν. καὶ μῖσος ἐντεῦθεν ἤρξατο
 ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἀγανάκτησις, ὅτι
 αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσαντες ἐπιφθόνως, καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς δυνα-
 τοῖς ἐναντιωθέντες ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, ὕπατόν τε δις ἐλό-
 μενοι παρανόμως, ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ἀντιπεπραχότα
 6 σφίσιν ἐώρων. ταῦτα δ' ὅσοι τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἦσαν
 ἐχθροὶ κατιδόντες, ἐβόων ὡς λῦσαι τὸν Γράκχου νό-
 μον ὅλως διεγνωκῶς μέλλοι πολὺν ἐπὶ τῷδε ἔνοπλον

19. 2 The judicial functions of the commissioners, which Scipio took away, were common to all Roman magistrates who had to do with finance, as the censors, quaestors, and under the principate the *procuratores Caesaris* (Tac. Ann. xii. 60).

4 ἐπ' ἀργίας ἦσαν (cf. ch. 7. 7), 'were reduced to inactivity.' The withdrawal of their judicial powers paralysed their executive action. It is probable that the Agrarian Law which Plutarch and the Epitomator of Livy ascribe to the younger Gracchus, and to which reference is made in the *Lex Agraria* of 111 B.C. (Bruns⁶ iii. 11. 6), restored their judicial functions to the commissioners.

5 ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν. Here and in ch. 21. 2 the word obviously means allies, as opposed to Roman citizens, not (as in ch. 7. 4 and 6) country Romans, as opposed to dwellers in the city. In ch. 24. 3 it is doubtful in which of the two senses the words ἐξ ὅλης Ἰταλίας are to be taken, and the same doubt appears in ch. 29. 4 πλεονεκτούντων ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῶν Ἰταλιω-
 τῶν.

φόνον ἐργάσασθαι. ὦν ὁ δῆμος ἀκροώμενος ἐδεδίει, 20
 μέχρι ὁ Σκιπίων, ἐσπέρας παραθέμενος ἑαυτῷ δέλτον
 ἐς ἣν νυκτὸς ἔμελλε γράψειν τὰ λεχθησόμενα ἐν τῷ
 δήμῳ, νεκρὸς ἄνευ τραύματος ἠϋρέθη, εἴτε Κορνηλίας 2
 αὐτῷ, τῆς Γράκχου μητρός, ἐπιθεμένης, ἵνα μὴ ὁ
 νόμος ὁ Γράκχου λυθείη, καὶ συλλαβούσης ἐς τοῦτο
 Σεμπρωνίας τῆς θυγατρὸς, ἣ τῷ Σκιπίωνι γαμουμένη
 διὰ δυσμορφίαν καὶ ἀπαιδίαν οὐτ' ἐστέργετο οὐτ' ἔστερ-
 γεν· εἴθ', ὥς ἔνιοι δοκοῦσιν, ἐκὼν ἀπέθανε, συνιδὼν 3
 ὅτι οὐκ ἔσοιτο δυνατὸς κατασχεῖν ὦν ὑπόσχοιτο. εἰσὶ 4
 δ' οἱ βασανιζομένους φασὶ θεράποντας εἰπεῖν ὅτι αὐ-
 τὸν ξένοι δι' ὀπισθοδόμου νυκτὸς ἐπεσαχθέντες ἀπο-
 πνίζαιεν, καὶ οἱ πυθόμενοι ὀκνήσαιεν ἐξενεγκεῖν διὰ
 τὸν δῆμον ὀργιζόμενον ἔτι καὶ τῷ θανάτῳ συνηδόμενον.
 Σκιπίων μὲν δὴ ἐτεθνήκει, καὶ οὐδὲ δημοσίας ταφῆς 5
 ἠξιούτο, μέγιστα δὴ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὠφελήσας· οὕτως
 ἢ παραυτίκα ὀργῇ τῆς ποτὲ χάριτος ἐπικρατεῖ· καὶ
 τότε, ὃν τηλικούτον, οἷα πάρεργον ἐπὶ τῇ Γράκχου
 στάσει συνέπεσεν.

τὴν δὲ διαίρεσιν τῆς γῆς οἱ κεκτημένοι καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ 21
 προφάσεσι ποικίλαις διέφερον ἐπὶ πλείστον. καί 2
 τινες ἐσηγοῦντο τοὺς συμμάχους ἅπαντας, οἱ δὲ περὶ
 τῆς γῆς μάλιστα ἀντέλεγον, ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολι-

20. 3 ὦν ὑπόσχοιτο. It has been supposed that Scipio had promised to obtain the franchise for the allies; but there appears to be no more evidence than is contained in these words: this interpretation of them would be contrary to what Appian says in ch. 34. 4, that Fulvius Flaccus was the first to propose enfranchisement. Velleius (ii. 2. 3) attributes a similar promise to Tib. Gracchus.

21. 1 καὶ ὥς, 'though Scipio was not there to help them.'

διέφερον. Possibly here as in ch. 110. 2 may be rendered 'endured,' 'persevered,' 'withstood.' It would make better sense to take it with Schweigh. as equivalent to the Latin *differebant*, 'put off'; but I know of no parallel.

ἐπὶ πλείστον, 'for an indefinite period'; cf. ch. 3. 1.

+ *ἐπιφανέστατον ἐν ἁλλοῖς*

- τεῖαν ἀναγράψαι, ὡς μείζονι χάριτι περὶ τῆς γῆς οὐ
διοισομένους. καὶ ἐδέχοντο ἄσμενοι τοῦθ' οἱ Ἰταλιῶται,
3 προτιθέντες τῶν χωρίων τὴν πολιτείαν. συνέπρασσε τε
αὐτοῖς ἐς τοῦτο μάλιστα πάντων Φούλουιος Φλάκκος,
ὑπατεύων ἅμα καὶ τὴν γῆν διανέμων. ἡ βουλὴ δ' ἐχαλέ-
παινε, τοὺς ὑπηκόους σφῶν ἰσοπολίτας εἰ ποιήσονται.
4 καὶ τότε μὲν τὸ ἐγχείρημα οὕτω διελύθη, καὶ ὁ
δῆμος ἐν ἐλπίδι τέως τῆς γῆς γενόμενος ἠθύμει· ὥδε
δ' αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ἀσπάσιος ἐκ τῶν τὴν γῆν διαιρούν-
των ἐς δημαρχίαν ἐπιφαίνεται Γάιος Γράκχος ὁ Γράκ-
χου τοῦ νομοθέτου νεώτερος ἀδελφός, ἐς πολὺ μὲν
ἡσυχάσας ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ συμφορᾷ· πολλῶν δ'
αὐτοῦ καταφρονούντων ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, παρήγ-
5 γειλεν ἐς δημαρχίαν. καὶ περιφανέστατα αἰρεθεὶς εὐ-
θὺς ἐπεβούλευε τῇ βουλῇ, σιτηρέσιον ἔμμηνον ὀρί-
σας ἐκάστω τῶν δημοτῶν ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων,
οὐ πρότερον εἰωθὸς διαδίδοσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὀξέως
οὕτως ἐνὶ πολιτεύματι τὸν δῆμον ὑπηγάγετο, συμπρά-

2 οὐ διοισομένους, 'would make no dispute about the land.' This is a regular use of διαφέρεισθαι, as in ch. 11. 4.

μείζονι χάριτι. If the text is to stand, we must translate 'for the sake of this greater favour.' Schweigh. writes, 'videri potest vel praepositio ἐπὶ desiderari "post maiorem gratiam," vel participium ὑπαχθέντες "devincti."'

The offer of the franchise to the allies first appears here as a move of the democratic leaders in order to stave off the opposition of the Italians to their agrarian legislation. The responsibility for the rejection of the wise proposal of Flaccus rests with the senate. Its acceptance would have solved two difficulties at once. Eminent men on both sides (Drusus no less than Fulvius and Gracchus) saw that the extension of the franchise was necessary, but the policy was distasteful to the rank and file of both parties.

chs. 21. 3—26. Tribune and legislation of Caius Gracchus.

21. 5 ἐκάστω τῶν δημοτῶν. Poverty was not a necessary qualification for the corn distribution. This is illustrated by the story of the consular Piso Frugi (Cic. Tusc. Disp. iii. 20. 48), whose repartee survives under a slightly altered form in the proverb 'si vendis bona mea peto partem.'

ξαντος αὐτῷ Φουλουίου Φλάκκου. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷδε 6
καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἤρητο δημαρχεῖν· καὶ γάρ τις ἤδη
νόμος ἐκεκύρωτο, εἰ δῆμαρχος ἐνδέοι ταῖς παραγγελίαις,
 τὸν δῆμον ἐκ πάντων ἐπιλέγεσθαι.

ὁ μὲν δὴ Γάιος Γράκχος οὕτως ἐδημάρχει τὸ δεύτε- 22
 ρον, οἷα δ' ἔχων τὸν δῆμον ἔμισθον, ὑπήγετο καὶ
 τοὺς καλουμένους ἱππέας, οἱ τὴν ἀξιώσιν εἰσι τῆς
 βουλῆς καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν ἐν μέσῳ, δι' ἐτέρου τοιοῦδε
 πολιτεύματος. τὰ δικαστήρια, ἀδοξοῦντα ἐπὶ δωρο- 2
 δοκίαις, ἐς τοὺς ἱππέας ἀπὸ τῶν βουλευτῶν μετέφερε,

6 καὶ γάρ τις ἤδη νόμος ἐκεκύρωτο. Carbo had made some such proposal in 131 B.C., but it was thrown out (Cic. de Amic. 25. 96); it must have been renewed and carried soon after.

εἰ δῆμαρχος ἐνδέοι ταῖς παραγγελίαις. παραγγέλλειν means 'to come forward as a candidate,' Latin 'profiteri.' If the law had really allowed re-election, as Appian states, only in case of a deficiency of candidates, it is certain that Gracchus could never have been re-elected; the senate would have taken care that there was no lack of candidates. In all probability the provision of the law really was that if an insufficient number of candidates received an absolute majority of the votes at the first ballot or on the first day, then in order to fill the vacancies votes were to be accepted even for persons disqualified by the *leges annales*. In that case Appian's Latin authority must have used 'renuntiari,' not 'profiteri,' and Appian must have mistranslated, putting παραγγελία for ἀναγόρευσις. Mommsen (*Staatsrecht* I³, p. 220) has pointed out that, as there was no machinery for an interregnum in the tribunate, it was necessary to provide that there should always be fresh tribunes ready to take office when the old ones retired.

22. 1 τὸ δεύτερον. Plutarch seems to place the law about the equestrian jury-courts in the first year's tribunate, which is more probable.

2 ἐς τοὺς ἱππέας ἀπὸ τῶν βουλευτῶν μετέφερε. Appian is undoubtedly right in speaking of a simple transfer of the *iudicia* from senate to *equites*, as against Plutarch (C. Gracch. 5. 2) who makes the Sempronian juries consist half of senators and half of *equites*. The *Epitomator* of Livy (Book 60) goes even further wrong than Plutarch, saying that Gracchus introduced 600 *equites* into the senate. All Cicero's references to the jury-courts as they existed before Sulla's dictatorship support Appian's statement. I believe that we may go even further. I hold

τὰ ὑπόγνα μάλιστα αὐτοῖς ὀνειδίζων, ὅτι Αὐρήλιος Κόττας καὶ Σαλινάτωρ καὶ τρίτος ἐπὶ τούτοις Μάνιος Ἀκύλιος ὁ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐλὼν σαφῶς δεδωροδοκηκότες ἀφείντο ὑπὸ τῶν δικασάντων, οἳ τε πρέσβεις οἱ κατ' αὐτῶν ἔτι παρόντες σὺν φθόνῳ ταῦτα περιμόντες ἐκε-
 3 κράγεσαν. ἅπερ ἡ βουλὴ μάλιστα αἰδουμένη ἐς τὸν νόμον ἐνεδίδου· καὶ ὁ δῆμος αὐτὸν ἐκύρου. καὶ μετ-
 ηνέχθη μὲν ὧδε ἐς τοὺς ἱππέας ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τὰ δικαστήρια, φασὶ δὲ κυρωθέντος μὲν ἄρτι τοῦ νόμου τὸν Γράκχον εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἀθρόως τὴν βουλὴν καθηρήκοι, τοῦ δ' ἔργου προϊόντος ἐς πείραν μειζόνως ἔτι ἐκφα-
 νῆναι τὸ ἔπος τοῦ Γράκχου. τό τε γὰρ δικάζειν αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Ἰταλιώταις ἅπασι καὶ αὐτοῖς βουλευταῖς,
 4 ἐπὶ παντὶ μέτρῳ, χρημάτων τε πέρι καὶ ἀτιμίας καὶ

with Mommsen that the *Lex Repetundarum* whose fragments are preserved to us, commonly called the *Lex Acilia* (Bruns⁶ iii. 10), is the very law here ascribed to Gracchus, and that Acilius (if his name be rightly introduced) was merely a colleague of Gracchus who proposed the law on his account, just as Aurelius, the praetor of 70 B.C., proposed his jury-law on account of the consul Pompey. There is no question that this *Lex Acilia* absolutely excludes senators.

It is a problem to discover who were the persons here called *ἱππέας*. In the *Lex Acilia* the exclusions from the jury-list on account of age, of character and of senatorial rank are clearly marked, but unfortunately there is a gap in the tablet at each place where the positive qualification for jurors should come in. Earlier editors have filled the gap by inserting words requiring property to the amount of 400,000 sesterces. In that case everyone qualified by wealth to serve in the eighteen equestrian centuries would also (provided he were not excluded by the negative clauses) be qualified to sit on juries. I am inclined however to agree with Mommsen who thinks that the missing words provided that the jurymen must actually have served or be serving in these equestrian centuries, that is to say that he is or has been an *eques equo publico*.

δεδωροδοκηκότες. δωροδοκέω sometimes means 'to accept as a bribe' (e. g. in ch. 64. 3), sometimes, as here, 'to corrupt by bribes' (Liddell and Scott).

4 ἐπὶ παντὶ μέτρῳ, 'to any extent.' The scope of the jury-trials at this time is somewhat doubtful. The only standing

φυγῆς, τοὺς μὲν ἰππέας οἰά τινες ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν
 ὑπερεπῆρε, τοὺς δὲ βουλευτὰς ἴσα καὶ ὑπηκόους ἐποίει.
 συνιστάμενοί τε τοῖς δημάρχοις οἱ ἰππεῖς ἐς τὰς χειρο- 5
 τονίας, καὶ ἀντιλαμβάνοντες παρ' αὐτῶν ὃ τι θέλοιν,
 ἐπὶ μέγα φόβου τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἐχώρουν. ταχύ τε
 περιῆν ἀνεστράφθαι τὸ κράτος τῆς πολιτείας, τὴν μὲν
 ἀξίωσιν μόνην ἔτι τῆς βουλῆς ἐχούσης, τὴν δὲ δύνα-
 μιν τῶν ἰππέων. προϊόντες γὰρ οὐκ ἐδυνάστευον 6
 μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σαφῶς ἐνύβριζον τοῖς βουλευταῖς
 παρὰ τὰς δίκας. τὴν τε δωροδοκίαν μεταλαβόντες, καὶ
 γευσάμενοι καὶ οἶδε κερδῶν ἀθρώων, αἰσχροτέρων ἔτι
 καὶ ἀμετρότερον αὐτοῖς ἐχρῶντο. κατηγόρους τε ἐνε- 7
 τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πλουσίοις ἐπήγοντο, καὶ τὰς τῶν δωρο-
 δοκίων δίκας, συνιστάμενοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ βιαζόμε-
 νοι, πάμπαν ἀνήρουν, ὥς καὶ τὸ ἔθος ὅλως τῆς τοιαύτης

jury-court before Gracchus was the 'quaestio Repetundarum.' Only this is mentioned in the *Lex Acilia*, and a complete machinery for making out an annual list of jurors for this court only is elaborated. C. Gracchus certainly instituted one more such court, the 'quaestio ne quis iudicio circumveniretur,' and possibly a second 'de sicariis.' The machinery of the *album iudicum* invented in the *Lex Acilia* might easily have been applied to the juries for these other courts, supposing that they were instituted afterwards. It is also possible, though not certain, that another law ordained that the 'unus iudex' in civil cases should be taken from the same *album*. By these laws collectively Gracchus, as Appian says, 'transferred' the judicial power to the knights.

7 τὰς τῶν δωροδοκίων δίκας. What were these 'trials for bribery' which the *equites* 'by conspiracy among themselves as good as abolished'? If Appian means the trials before the jury-courts under Gracchus's law against judicial corruption ('ne quis iudicio circumveniretur') there was no occasion for the knights to combine for any such purpose, since only senators were liable under that law (Cic. Pro Clu. 55. 151). If what is meant is trials before the people on appeal from a magistrate's sentence, Appian may possibly be justified; but I strongly suspect that he was ignorant of the immunity of the knights, and thought that it was only by collusion on the part of the jurors that they escaped condemnation in the jury-courts; see below ch. 35. 9.

εὐθύνης ἐπιλιπεῖν, καὶ στάσιν ἄλλην τὸν δικαστικὸν νόμον οὐκ ἐλάσσω τῶν προτέρων ἐς πολὺ παρασχεῖν.

- 23 ὁ δὲ Γράκχος καὶ ὁδοὺς ἔτεμνεν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν μακράς, πλήθος ἐργολάβων καὶ χειροτεχνῶν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιούμενος, ἐτοίμων ἐς ὃ τι κελεύοι, καὶ ἀποικίας ἐσ-
 2 ηγάτο πολλάς. καὶ τοὺς Λατίνους ἐπὶ πάντα ἐκάλει τὰ Ῥωμαίων, ὡς οὐκ εὐπρεπῶς συγγενέσι τῆς βουλῆς ἀντιστῆναι δυναμένης· τῶν τε ἐτέρων συμμάχων οἷς οὐκ ἔξην ψῆφον ἐν ταῖς Ῥωμαίων χειροτονίαις φέρειν, ἐδί-
 3 δου φέρειν ἀπὸ τοῦδε, ἐπὶ τῷ ἔχειν καὶ τοῖςδε ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις τῶν νόμων αὐτῷ συντελούντας. ἐφ'
 4 ᾧ δὴ μάλιστα ἡ βουλή διαταραχθεῖσα τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐκέλευσε προγράψαι μηδένα τῶν οὐ φερόντων ψῆφον ἐπιδημεῖν τῇ πόλει, μηδὲ προσπελάζειν ἀπὸ τεσσαρά-
 4 κωντα σταδίων, παρὰ τὴν ἐσομένην περὶ τῶνδε τῶν νόμων χειροτονίαν. Λίσιον τε Δροῦσον, ἕτερον δῆμαρχον, ἔπεισε κωλύσαι τοὺς Γράκχου νόμους, οὐκ ἐπι-
 5 λεύοντα τῷ δήμῳ τὰς αἰτίας· δέδοται δὲ τῷ κωλύοντι μηδ' ἐπιλέγειν. ἔδωκαν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ φιλανθρωπεύ-
 5 σασθαι τὸν δῆμον δώδεκα ἀποικίαις· ᾧ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ὁ δῆμος ἡσθεὶς τῶν Γράκχου νόμων κατεφρόνησεν.
- 24 ὁ δὲ τοῦ δημοκοπήματος ἐκπεσὼν ἐς Λιβύην ἅμα Φουλουίῳ Φλάκκῳ, κακείνῳ μεθ' ὑπατείας διὰ τὰδε

23. 2 ψῆφον. The Latins alone were allowed to vote in a single tribe, chosen by lot on each occasion; Livy xxv. 3. 16. If Appian knew this, we should infer that this limited right of suffrage was to be henceforward enjoyed by the non-Latin allies, as it had been hitherto by the Latins, but in that case the support which the non-Latins could give Gracchus in voting would be too insignificant to constitute the motive here alleged. Plutarch (C. Gracch. 83) speaks of him as *καλῶν ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ πολιτείας τοὺς Λατίνους*, but says nothing about the others.

3 μηδένα . . . ἐπιδημεῖν. Plutarch (C. Gracch. 12. 2) tells us that Gracchus promised to interpose his tribunician protection against the expulsion, but did not venture to do so when it came to the point.

δημαρχεῖν ἐλομένῳ, διέπλευσεν, ἐψηφισμένης κατὰ δό-
 ξαν εὐκαρπίας ἐς Λιβύην ἀποικίας καὶ τῶνδε αὐτῶν
 οἰκιστῶν ἐπίτηδες ἡρημένων, ἵνα μικρὸν ἀποδημούν-
 των ἀναπαύσαιο ἡ βουλὴ τῆς δημοκοπίας. οἱ δὲ τῇ 2
 ἀποικίᾳ τὴν πόλιν διέγραφον ἔνθα ποτὲ ἦν ἡ Καρχη-
 δονίων, οὐδὲν φροντίσαντες ὅτι Σκιπίων αὐτήν, ὅτε
 κατέσκαπτεν, ἐπηράσατο ἐς αἰὲ μῆλόβοτον εἶναι. δι- 3
 ἐγραφον δ' ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους ἀντὶ ἐλαττόνων τῶν ὄντων
 ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, ὡς καὶ τῷδε τὸν δῆμον ὑπαζόμενοι. ἐπαν-
 ελθόντες τε ἐς Ῥώμην συνεκάλουν ἐξ ὅλης Ἰταλίας
 τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους. ἐπιστειλάντων δὲ τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ 4
 τὴν πόλιν ἔτι διαγραφόντων ὅτι λύκοι τοὺς ὄρους
 Γράκχου τε καὶ Φουλίου διέρριψαν ἀνασπάσαντες,
 καὶ τῶν μάντεων τὴν ἀποικίαν ἡγουμένων ἀπαίσιον,
 ἡ μὲν βουλὴ προέγραφεν ἐκκλησίαν ἐν ἣ τὸν νόμον
 ἔμελλε τὸν περὶ τῆσδε τῆς ἀποικίας λύσειν, ὁ δὲ Γράκ-
 χος καὶ ὁ Φούλιος ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦδε ἐξέπιπτον, μεμη-
 νόσιν εὐκότες ἐψεύσθαι τὴν βουλήν ἔφασκον περὶ 5
 τῶν λύκων. οἳ τε θρασύτατοι τῶν δημοτῶν αὐτοῖς
 συνελάμβανον, ἐγχειρίδια φέροντες ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον,
 οὗ περὶ τῆς ἀποικίας ἐκκλησιάσειν ἔμελλον. ἤδη δὲ 25
 τοῦ δήμου συνειλεγμένου, καὶ Φουλίου τι περὶ τού-
 των ἀρχομένου λέγειν, ὁ Γράκχος ἀνέβαινεν ἐς τὸ
 Καπιτώλιον ὑπὸ τῶν συνθεμένων δορυφορούμενος.
 ἐνοχλούμενος δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος ὡς ἐπὶ ἀλλοκότοις 2
 βουλευμασι, τὴν μὲν σύνοδον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπέκλινεν,
 ἐς δὲ τὴν στοᾶν παρελθὼν διεβάδιζεν, ἐφεδρεύον
 τοῖς ἐσομένοις. καὶ αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα θορύβου 3
 κατιδὼν δημότης ἀνὴρ Ἀντύλλος ἐν τῇ στοᾷ θύων,

24. 1 ἐλομένῳ: see ch. 34. 5.

3 ἐξ ὅλης Ἰταλίας: see on ch. 19. 5.

25. 3 οὕτως ἔχοντα θορύβου, 'in such a disturbed state.'
 Appian's account of the death of Antyllus holds a place midway
 between Plutarch's version of the story and that of Diodorus,
 who is violently hostile to Gracchus.

ἐμβαλὼν τὴν χεῖρα, εἴτε τι πυθόμενος ἢ ὑποπτεύων
 ἢ ἄλλως ἐς τὸν λόγον ὑπαχθείς, ἡξίου φείσασθαι τῆς
 4 πατρίδος. ὃ δὲ μᾶλλον τε θορυβηθεὶς καὶ δέισας ὡς
 κατάφωρος, ἐνέβλεψεν αὐτῷ δριμύ· καὶ τις τῶν παρόν-
 των, οὔτε σημείου τινὸς ἐπαρθέντος οὔτε προστάγμα-
 τὸς πω γεγονότος, ἐκ μόνης τῆς ἐς τὸν Ἀντύλλον
 Γράκχου δριμύτητος εἰκάσας ἤδη τὸν καιρὸν ἤκειν,
 καὶ χαριεῖσθαι τι τῷ Γράκχῳ δόξας πρῶτος ἀρξάμενος
 ἔργου, τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον ἐπισπάσας διαχρήται τὸν Ἀντύλ-
 5 λον. βοῆς δὲ γενομένης καὶ σώματος ὀφθέντος ἐν
 μέσῳ νεκροῦ, πάντες ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατεπήδων σὺν
 6 ὁμοίῳ κακοῦ φόβῳ. Γράκχος δ' ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν παρελ-
 θὼν ἐβούλετο μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐκλογίσασθαι περὶ τοῦ γεγο-
 7 νότος· οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτὸν οὐδ' ὑφισταμένου, ἀλλ' ὡς
 ἐναγῇ πάντων ἐκτρεπομένων, ὁ μὲν Γράκχος καὶ ὁ
 Φλάκκος ἀπορούμενοι, καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ὧν ἐβουλευόντο
 φθάσαι τὴν ἐγχείρησιν ἀπολωλεκότες, ἐς τὰς οἰκίας
 διέτρεχον, καὶ οἱ συνθέμενοι αὐτοῖς συνήεσαν ἐς αὐ-
 τὰς, τὸ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐκ μέσων νυκτῶν, ὡς ἐπὶ
 8 δὴ τινι κακῷ, τὴν ἀγορὰν προκατελάμβανον. καὶ ὃς
 ἐπεδήμει τῶν ὑπάτων, Ὀπίμιος διέτασσε μὲν τινὰς
 ἐνόπλους ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἅμα ἔφ' συνιέναι, καὶ τὴν
 βουλὴν διὰ κηρύκων συνεκάλει, αὐτὸς δ' ἐν μέσῳ πάν-
 των ἐν τῷ νεῷ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἐφήδρευε τοῖς ἐσομένοις.
 28 <καὶ> τάδε μὲν ἦν τοιαῦδε, ἢ <δὲ> βουλὴ Γράκχον
 καὶ Φλάκκον ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐς ἀπολογίαν ἐς τὸ βου-
 λευτήριον ἐκάλουν. οἱ δὲ σὺν ὄπλοις ἐξέθεον ἐπὶ

7 ὑφισταμένου, 'nemine audiente,' Schweigh.

καὶ τὸν καιρὸν, &c., 'having lost the opportunity of anticipating their opponents in their attempt at what they intended.' Schweigh. suggests διὰ τὸ φθάσαι, 'having missed the opportunity for executing their plans owing to their having struck prematurely.'

8 Ὀπίμιος. He was consul for the year 121 B.C. Appian does not notice that we have passed into a fresh year and that Gracchus was no longer tribune.

τὸν Ἀουεντίνον λόφον, ἐλπίσαντες, εἰ τόνδε προλάβοιεν, ἐδώσειν πρὸς τὰς συνθήκας αὐτοῖς τι τὴν βουλὴν. διαθέοντές τε τοὺς θεράποντας συνεκάλουν ἐπ' ἔλευ- 2
 θερίᾳ. καὶ τῶνδε μὲν οὐδεὶς ὑπήκουεν, αὐτοὶ δέ, σὺν ὅσοις εἶχον ἀμφ' αὐτούς, τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον κατα-
 λαβόντες ἐκρατύνοντο, καὶ Κόιντον Φλάκκου παῖδα ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἔπεμπον, δεόμενοι διαλλαγῶν τυχεῖν καὶ βιούν μεθ' ὁμονοίας. οἱ δ' ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς ἀπο- 3
 θεμένους τὰ ὄπλα ἡκεῖν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ λέγειν ὅ τι θέλοιεν, ἢ μηκέτι πέμπειν μηδένα. τῶν δ' αὖθις 4
 τὸν Κόιντον ἐπιπεμψάντων, τόνδε μὲν Ὀπίμιος ὁ ὕπα-
 τος διὰ τὴν προαγόρευσιν, ὥς οὐκέτι πρεσβευτὴν ὄντα, συνελάμβανε, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Γράκχον τοὺς ὠπλισμέ-
 νους ἐπέπεμπεν. καὶ Γράκχος μὲν διὰ τῆς ξυλίνης 5
 γεφύρας ἐς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταφυγὼν ἐς ἄλσος
 τι μεθ' ἐνὸς θεράποντος, ὑπέσχε τῷ θεράποντι τὴν σφαγὴν καταλαμβανόμενος. Φλάκκου δ' ἐς ἐργαστή- 6
 ριον ἀνδρὸς γνωρίμου καταφυγόντος, οἱ μὲν διώκοντες,
 τὴν οἰκίαν οὐκ εἰδότες, ὅλον ἐκπρήσειν τὸν στενω-
 πὸν ἠπειλουν, ὁ δ' ὑποδεξάμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ὤκνησε
 μνηῦσαι τὸν ἰκέτην, ἐτέρῳ δὲ προσέταξε μνηῦσαι. καὶ
 συλληφθεὶς ὁ Φλάκκος ἀνηρέθη. Γράκχου μὲν δὴ καὶ 7
 Φλάκκου τὰς κεφαλὰς ἔφερόν τινες Ὀπιμῖω, καὶ αὐτοῖς
 ὁ Ὀπίμιος ἰσοβαρὲς χρυσίον ἀντέδωκεν. ὁ δὲ δῆμος
 αὐτῶν τὰς οἰκίας διήρπαξε, καὶ τοὺς συμφρονήσαντας
 ὁ Ὀπίμιος συλλαβὼν ἐς τὴν φυλακὴν ἐνέβαλέ τε καὶ

26. 7 συλλαβὼν, &c. These proceedings of Opimius were taken on the strength of the *senatus consultum*, '*videant consules ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat*' (Cic. Cat. i. 2. 4). He was put on his trial next year, and acquitted by the people. C. Gracchus had passed a law, '*ne iniussu populi de capite civium Romanorum iudicaretur*,' intended to prevent judicial commissions such as that by which Popillius, the consul of 132 B. C., had executed the adherents of the elder Gracchus. The plan, now adopted for the first time (see note on ch. 16. 2) by the senate, evaded this law by the supposition that the per-

8 ἀποπνιγῆναι προσέταξεν. Κοῖντῳ δὲ τῷ Φλάκκου παιδί
 συνεχώρησεν ἀποθανεῖν ὡς θέλοι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ
 τοῖς φόνοις ἐκάθηρεν. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ καὶ νεῶν Ὀμονοίας
 αὐτὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ προσέταξεν ἐγείραι.

27 καὶ ἡ στάσις ἡ τοῦ δευτέρου Γράκχου ἐς τὰδε
 ἔληγε· νόμος τε οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἐκυρώθη, τὴν γῆν,
 ὑπὲρ ἧς διεφέροντο, ἐξεῖναι πιπράσκειν τοῖς ἔχουσιν
 ἀπείρητο γὰρ ἐκ Γράκχου τοῦ προτέρου καὶ τόδε.
 καὶ εὐθὺς οἱ πλούσιοι παρὰ τῶν πενήτων ἐωνοῦντο,
 2 ἡ ταῖσδε ταῖς προφάσεσιν ἐβιάζοντο. καὶ περιῆν ἐς

sons hereafter put to death (Caius Gracchus, Saturninus, the Catilinarians) had by their own act constituted themselves *hostes*, and so ceased to be Roman citizens. The magistrate, warned of this fact by the senate, proceeds against them by an act of war. I have discussed the question in an article on Mommsen's 'Strafrecht' in the *English Historical Review*, April, 1901.

27. This chapter relates the reactionary agrarian legislation after the fall of the Gracchi.

1 The first law permits the sale of the lots. The *ἔχοντες* here mean the small holders to whom land had been assigned by the Gracchi.

2 The second law abolishes the land commission. The *ἔχοντες* of this verse are the great *possessores* against whom the Sempronian legislation was directed. The same law exacts a rent from these *possessores* which is to be used for corn-distribution among the citizens (*χωρεῖν ἐς διανομὰς*).

3 The third law abolishes this tax. Large portions of this third law have been preserved to us on the back of the tablet which contains the *Lex Acilia Repetundarum* (Bruns⁶ iii. 11). The land with which it dealt was (with some specified exceptions) turned into private land (verse 7 of the law) and as an incident of this conversion all rent payable for the same was abolished (verse 19). Unfortunately the law does not enable us to answer with certainty the most important question which remains, namely what became of any land still held by the *possessores* in excess of the limit prescribed by the Sempronian Law, a limit expressly recognized in verse 2 of the law? My own belief is that it is covered by the word 'reliquit' in verse 7, and that it became the private property of the *possessores*. At any rate we hear no more of it as the subject of any of the agrarian laws of Cicero's time.

χεῖρον ἔτι τοῖς πένησι, μέχρι Σπόριος Θόριος δημαρ-
 χῶν ἐσηγήσατο νόμον, τὴν μὲν γῆν μηκέτι διανέμειν,
 ἀλλ' εἶναι τῶν ἐχόντων, καὶ φόρους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῷ
 δήμῳ κατατίθεσθαι, καὶ τάδε τὰ χρήματα χωρεῖν ἐς
 διανομάς. ὅπερ ἦν μὲν τις τοῖς πένησι παρηγορία,
 διὰ τὰς διανομάς, ὄφελος δ' οὐδὲν ἐς πολυπληθίαν.
 ἅπαξ δὲ τοῖς σοφίσμασι τοῖσδε τοῦ Γρακχείου νόμου 3
 παραλυθέντος, ἀρίστου καὶ ὠφελιμωτάτου, εἰ ἐδύνατο
 πραχθῆναι, γενομένου, καὶ τοὺς φόρους οὐ πολὺ ὕστε-
 ρον διέλυσε δῆμαρχος ἕτερος, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀθρόως
 ἀπάντων ἐξεπεπτώκει. ὅθεν ἐσπάνιζον ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁμοῦ 4
 πολιτῶν τε καὶ στρατιωτῶν, καὶ γῆς προσόδου καὶ
 διανομῶν, † (καὶ νόμων,) πεντεκαίδεκα μάλιστα ἔτεσιν
 ἀπὸ τῆς Γράκχου νομοθεσίας, ἐπὶ δίκαις ἐν ἀργίᾳ
 γεγονότες. †

τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ Σκιπίων ὕπατος καθεῖλε τὸ 28

2 Σπόριος Θόριος. All the MSS. read Βόριος, but the emenda-
 tion Θόριος is accepted by most editors, though Schweigh. has his
 doubts. I believe with the emenders that Appian wrote Θόριος,
 but likewise that he attributed the wrong law to the tribune of
 that name.

Cicero (Brut. 36. 136) mentions a Sp. Thorius, 'qui agrum publi-
 cum vitiosa et inutili lege vectigali levavit'; if this is to be trans-
 lated, (as I think it must in spite of the different renderings of
 Mommsen and Wordsworth), 'who relieved the public land
 from an invalid and useless law which had subjected it to a rent-
 charge' (taking *vectigali* as an adjective agreeing with *lege*), it
 follows that Thorius was the author of the third law and not of
 the second, as Appian is made to state by his emenders. In that
 case the earlier editors were right in naming the fragments in
 the Naples Museum the 'Lex Thoria.' I have not ventured,
 however, to imitate them, but refer to the law by its usual title,
 the *Lex Agraria* of 111 B.C.

4 καὶ νόμων, &c. Schweigh. wisely stops short in his trans-
 lation when he comes to this final clause. The concluding
 words, ἐπὶ δίκαις ἐν ἀργίᾳ γεγονότες, seem peculiarly hopeless.

chs. 28-33. The tribuneship of Saturninus B. C. 100.

28. 1 Σκιπίων ὕπατος. An 'insignis anachronismus,' as Schweigh.
 remarks. The real story is that Scipio Nasica, grandfather of
 the Scipio here mentioned, proposed as a private senator in

θέατρον οὐ Λεύκιος Κάσσιος ἤρκετο, καὶ ἤδη πού τέλος
 ἐλάμβανεν, ὥς καὶ τότε στάσεων ἄρξον ἐτέρων, ἢ οὐ
 χρήσιμον ὅλως Ἑλληνικαῖς ἡδυπαθείαις Ῥωμαίους
 2 ἐθίζεσθαι. τιμητῆς δὲ Κόιντος Καικίλιος Μέτελλος
 Γλαυκίαν τε βουλεύοντα καὶ Ἀπουλήιον Σατορνῖνον
 δεδημαρχηκότα ἤδη τῆς ἀξιώσεως παρέλκεν, αἰσχρῶς
 βιοῦντας, οὐ μὴν ἐδυνήθη· ὁ γάρ οἱ συνάρχων οὐ
 3 συνέθετο. μικρὸν οὖν ὕστερον ὁ Ἀπουλήιος, ὡς ἀμυ-
 νούμενος τὸν Μέτελλον, ἐς ἐτέραν παρήγγελλε δημαρ-
 χίαν, φυλάξας στρατηγούντα τὸν Γλαυκίαν καὶ τῆσδε
 4 τῶν δημάρχων τῆς χειροτονίας προεστῶτα. Νώνιος
 μὲν οὖν, ἐπιφανὴς ἀνὴρ, ἔς τε τὸν Ἀπουλήιον παρ-
 ρησία χρώμενος καὶ Γλαυκίαν ἐξονειδίζων δήμαρχος
 5 ἀπεδείχθη. δέισαντες δ' ὁ Γλαυκίας καὶ ὁ Ἀπουλήιος
 μὴ δημαρχῶν αὐτοὺς ἀμύναιτο, ὅχλον ἀνδρῶν εὐθύς
 ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπιόντι ἐπιπέμπουσι σὺν θορύβῳ,
 6 καὶ ἔς τι πανδοκεῖον συμφυγόντα συνεκέντησαν. τοῦ
 δὲ πάθους οἰκτροῦ καὶ δεινοῦ φανέντος, οἱ περὶ τὸν
 Γλαυκίαν, οὕτω τοῦ δήμου συνελθόντος, ἅμ' ἔφ' χειρο-
 τονοῦσι δήμαρχον τὸν Ἀπουλήιον. καὶ τὸ μὲν Νω-
 νίου πάθος ὧδε ἐσιγήθη διὰ τὴν δημαρχίαν Ἀπου-
 29 λείου, δεδιότων αὐτὸν ἔτι ἐξελέγχειν. Ἐξηλάθη δὲ
 καὶ Μέτελλος ὑπ' αὐτῶν, προσλαβόντων Γαίον Μάριον
 ἕκτην ἄρχοντα ὑπατείας, ἐχθρὸν ἀφανῆ τοῦ Μετέλλου.
 2 καὶ συνέπραξαν ὧδε ἅπαντες ἀλλήλοις. ὁ μὲν Ἀπου-

154 B. C. the destruction of the theatre which C. Cassius Longinus, censor at the time, had begun. See Vell. Pat. i. 15. 3; Livy, *Epit.*, Book 48.

3 προεστῶτα. It is of course quite impossible that a praetor, an officer of the *populus Romanus*, should have presided at the election of the tribunes, who were officers of a distinct corporation, the *plebs*. In the present case Appian is not even consistent with himself, for the praetors entered office on January 1; so that if Glaucia had been praetor at the time of the tribunician elections in 101 B. C. he could not have been still praetor when he was slain along with Saturninus in 100 B. C. (ch. 32. 9, and Cic. Pro Rab. 7. 20).

λήιος νόμον ἐσέφερε, διαδάσασθαι γῆν ὅσην ἐν τῇ
 νῦν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καλουμένη Γαλατία Κίμβροι γένος
 Κελτῶν κατειλήφесαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Μάριος ἑναγχος
 ἐξέλασας τὴν γῆν ὡς οὐκέτι Γαλατῶν ἐς Ῥωμαίους
 περιεσπάκει. προσέκειτο δέ, εἰ κυρώσειε τὸν νόμον 3
 ὁ δῆμος, τὴν βουλὴν πένθ' ἡμέραις ἐπομόσαι πεισθή-
 σεσθαι τῷ νόμῳ, ἢ τὸν οὐκ ὁμόσαντα μήτε βουλευεῖν
 καὶ ὀφλεῖν τῷ δήμῳ τάλαντα εἴκοσιν, ἐπινουήντες
 οὕτως ἄλλους τε τῶν δυσχεραινόντων ἀμυνεῖσθαι καὶ
 Μέτελλον ὑπὸ φρονήματος οὐκ ἐνδύσοντα ἐς τὸν ὄρ-
 κον. ὁ μὲν δὴ νόμος ὥδε εἶχε, καὶ ὁ Ἀπουλήσιος ἡμέ- 4
 ραν αὐτοῦ τῇ δοκιμασίᾳ προυτίθει, καὶ περιέπεμπε
 τοὺς ἐξαγγελοῦντας τοῖς οὔσιν ἀνὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς, οἷς
 δὴ καὶ μάλιστ' ἐθάρρουν ὑπεστρατευμένοις Μαρίῳ.
 πλεονεκτούντων δ' ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ὁ δῆ-

29. 2 γένος Κελτῶν. The ancients often confound Celts and Germans; we have even (Dio Cassius, liii. 12. 6) Κελτῶν γάρ τινες, οὓς δὴ Γερμανοὺς καλοῦμεν. Velleius (ii. 12. 2) says more correctly, 'Vis Germanarum gentium quibus nomen Cimbris et Teutonis erat.'

4 πλεονεκτούντων δ' ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν. It is a striking instance of the imperfection of our historical record for this period, that modern scholars have to rest on this sentence their belief as to the nature of the legislation of Saturninus. It is supposed (see Mommsen, *Hist.* Book iv, ch. 6) that his Transalpine colonies were to be *coloniae civium Romanorum*, but that the colonists were to be drawn chiefly from among the Italian allies; thus the law would be indirectly a great enfranchising measure. Here as elsewhere (see notes on ch. 7. 4, and ch. 19. 5) Appian leaves us in some doubt as to who these Ἰταλιῶται are. He seems, both in this verse and in ch. 30. 2, to identify them with the ἄγροικοι, Roman citizens residing in the country, as opposed to the ἀστικοί (ch. 30. 2) or πολιτικός ὄχλος (ch. 30. 1). Probably, however, this is a mere confusion of the second-hand historian, and we may suppose that the authority whom he was following meant what he said when he spoke of 'Italians' (see note on ch. 34. 6). Assuming then that the Ἰταλιῶται here are allies and not Romans, we have another difficulty, namely, that the only other reference to enfranchisement on this occasion reduces the gift to ludicrously small proportions. Cicero (Pro Balbo 21. 48) tells us that the Apuleian

- 30 **μος** ἐδυσχέραινεν. καὶ στάσεως ἐν τῇ κυρία γενομένης, ὅσοι μὲν ἐκώλουν τῶν δημάρχων τοὺς νόμους, ὑβρίζομενοι πρὸς τοῦ Ἀπουλίου κατεπήδων ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, ὁ δὲ πολιτικὸς ὄχλος ἐβόα ὡς γενομένης ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ βροντῆς, ὅθεν οὐ θέμις ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις οὐδὲν
 2 ἔτι κυροῦν. βιαζομένων δὲ καὶ ὡς τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀπουλίων, οἱ πολιτικοὶ τὰ τε ἱμάτια διαζωσάμενοι καὶ τὰ προστυχόντα ξύλα ἀρπάσαντες τοὺς ἀγροίκους διέστησαν. οἱ δ' αὖθις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπουλίου συγκαλούμενοι, μετὰ ξύλων καὶ οἶδε τοῖς ἀστικοῖς ἐπήεσαν, καὶ
 3 βιασάμενοι τὸν νόμον ἐκύρωσαν. κυρωθέντος δ' αὐτίκα Μάριος, οἷα ὕπατος, τῇ βουλῇ προτίθει σκοπεῖν περὶ τοῦ ὅρκου καὶ τὸν Μέτελλον εἰδὼς στερρόν τε τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ βέβαιον ἐφ' ὃ τι φρονήσειεν ἢ εἰπεῖν φθάσειεν, ἐτίθει πρῶτος ἐς μέσον τὴν γνώμην τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μετ' ἐνέδρας, καὶ ἔλεγεν ὡς οὐποτε τὸν ὅρκον
 4 ἐκὼν τόνδε αὐτὸς ὁμόσει. συναποφηναμένου δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ Μετέλλου, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοὺς ἐπαινεσάντων, ὁ Μάριος διέλυσε τὴν βουλήν. εἶτα τῆς πέμπτης ἡμέρας, ἣ τῷ ὅρκῳ τελευταία κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἦν, ἀμφὶ δεκάτην ὥραν αὐτοὺς κατὰ σπουδὴν συναγαγὼν ἔφη τὸν δῆμον ἐσπουδακότα περὶ τὸν νόμον
 6 δεδιέναι, μηχανὴν δ' ὀράν καὶ σόφισμα τοιόνδε· ὁμόσειν γάρ, ἣ νόμος ἐστί, τῷδε πεισθήσεσθαι τῷ νόμῳ, καὶ νῦν μὲν οὕτω διασκεδᾶν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐνηδρευμένους, ὕστερον δ' οὐ δυσχερῶς ἐπιδείξειν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι νόμος ὁ πρὸς βίαν τε καὶ βροντῆς ὠνο-
 31 μασμένης κεκυρωμένος παρὰ τὰ πάτρια. ταῦτα δ'

Law gave Marius the right to create three Roman citizens in each colony. Obviously no such petty matter would justify Appian's statement, that 'the allies had the chief advantage in the law.' We must suppose then that other clauses opened avenues to enfranchisement wider than that of nomination by Marius.

30. 1 ἐν τῇ κυρίᾳ, sc. ἡμέρᾳ.

εἰπὼν καὶ τέλος οὐδὲν ἀναμείνας, πάντων ἔτι σιωπών-
των ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως ἐπὶ τῇ ἐνέδρᾳ καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ δέδα-
πανημένῳ, οὐδ' ἐνθυμηθῆναί τι παρασχὼν αὐτοῖς ἐξ-
ανίστατο ἐς τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου νεῶν, οὐ τοῖς ταμίαις
ἐχρῆν ὁμνύναι, καὶ ὦμνυ σὺν τοῖς φίλοις πρῶτος.
ὦμνυον δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποί, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ δεδιώς ἕκαστος.
Μέτελλος δ' οὐκ ὦμοσε μόνος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ 2
προαιρέσεως διέμεινεν ἀφόβως. καὶ αὐτὸν εὐθὺς τῆς
ἐπιούσης ὁ Ἀπουλήιος, ἐπιπέμψας τὸν ὑπηρέτην, ἐξ-
εἴλκεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου. ῥυομένων δὲ τῶν ἐτέ- 3
ρων δημάρχων, ὁ Γλαυκίας καὶ ὁ Ἀπουλήιος ἐς τοὺς
ἀγροίκους ἐκδραμόντες οὐκ ἔφασκον αὐτοῖς ἔσσεσθαι
τὴν γῆν, οὐδὲ τὸν νόμον κύριον, εἰ μὴ Μέτελλος ἐξ-
ελαθείη. ψήφισμά τε φνυγῆς ἐπέγραφον αὐτῷ, καὶ 4
τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐπικηρῦξαι προσετίθεσαν μηδένα Μετέλλω
κοινωνεῖν πυρὸς ἢ ὕδατος ἢ στέγης· ἐς τε τὴν δοκι-
μασίαν τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἡμέραν προύγραφον.
δεινῆς δὲ τῶν ἀστικῶν ἀγανακτήσεως οὔσης, καὶ παρα- 5
πεμπόντων Μέτελλον αἰεὶ σὺν ξιφιδίοις, ὁ Μέτελλος
αὐτοὺς ἀσπασάμενος καὶ ἐπαινέσας τῆς προαιρέσεως,
οὐκ ἔφη δι' ἑαυτὸν ἑάσειν οὐδένα κίνδυνον ἐπιγενέ-
σθαι τῇ πατρίδι. καὶ τότε εἰπὼν ὑπεξῆλθε τῆς πόλεως. 6
καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα ὁ Ἀπουλήιος ἐκύρου, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ
ψηφίσματι Μάριος ἐπεκήρυττεν.

οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ Μέτελλος, ἀνὴρ εὐδοκιμώτατος, 32
ἔφευγε, καὶ ὁ Ἀπουλήιος ἐπ' αὐτῷ τρίτον ἐδημάρχει.

32. I ἐπ' αὐτῷ, 'after this.'

τρίτον ἐδημάρχει. Apparently the tribunician elections were held before the consular, and both towards the end of the year, for it appears from ch. 33. I that the death of Saturninus and his fellows, which followed close on these proceedings, took place on the day on which the new tribunes entered upon office, i.e. December 10, 100 B.C. If Appian is right in saying that Glaukia was candidate for the consulship, this was in itself a gross illegality, for he was praetor at the time.

καὶ τις αὐτῷ συνῆρχε δραπέτης εἶναι νομιζόμενος, Γράκχον ἑαυτῷ τὸν πρεσβύτερον πατέρα ἐπιγράφων· καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ συνεπεπράχει περὶ τὴν χειροτο-
 2 νίαν πόθῳ Γράκχου. προτεθείσης δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν χειροτο-
 νίας, Μάρκος μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν ἀναμφι-
 λόγως ἠρέθη, τὴν δὲ ὑπόλοιπον Γλαυκίας ὅδε καὶ
 3 Μέμμιος μετήεσαν. Μεμμίου δ' ὄντος ἐπιδοξότερον
 παρὰ πολὺ, δείσας ὁ Γλαυκίας καὶ ὁ Ἀπουλήιος ἐπι-
 πέμπουσιν τινὰς αὐτῷ σὺν ξύλοις ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χειροτονίᾳ,
 4 οἱ τὸν Μέμμιον παίοντες ἐν μέσῳ πάντων ὁρώντων
 οὐτε νόμων οὐτε δικαστηρίων οὐτε τινὸς αἰδοῦς ἔτι
 ὑποῦσης· ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἀγανακτῶν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέ-
 ραν μετ' ὀργῆς συνέτρεχεν ὡς κτενοῦντες τὸν Ἀπου-
 5 λήιον. ὁ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος ἀλίστας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν,
 μετὰ Γλαυκίου καὶ Γαΐου Σαυφήιου ταμίου τὸ Καπι-
 6 τώλιον κατέλαβεν. καὶ αὐτοὺς τῆς βουλῆς ἀναιρεθῆναι
 ψηφισαμένης, ὁ Μάριος ἀχθόμενος ὅμως ὥπλιζέ τινας
 σὺν ὄκνῃ· καὶ βραδύνοντος ἕτεροι τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπιρρέον
 7 ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν διέτεμον. καὶ Σαυφήιος μὲν ἐμπρῆσαι
 τὸν νεῶν, ὑπὸ δίψης ἀπολλύμενος, ἡξιῶν, Γλαυκίας
 δὲ καὶ Ἀπουλήιος ἐλπίσαντες αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρήσειν Μά-
 8 ριον παρέδωκαν ἑαυτούς, οἷδε πρῶτοι, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκεί-
 νοις ὁ Σαυφήιος. Μάριος δ', αὐτίκα πάντων αὐτοὺς
 ἀναιρεῖν κελεύοντων, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον συνέκλεισεν
 9 ὡς ἐννομώτερον ἐργασόμενος. οἱ δὲ πρόφασιν τοῦτ'
 εἶναι νομίσαντες, τὸν κέραμον ἐξέλυνον τοῦ βουλευτη-
 ρίου, καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀπουλήιον ἔβαλλον ἕως ἀπ-
 ἐκτεῖναν, ταμίαν τε καὶ δήμαρχον καὶ στρατηγόν, ἔτι
 33 περικειμένους τὰ σύμβολα τῆς ἀρχῆς. πολὺς δὲ καὶ
 ἄλλος ὄμιλος ἐν τῇ στάσει διέφθαρτο, καὶ δήμαρχος
 ἕτερος, τοῦ Γράκχου παῖς εἶναι νομιζόμενος, πρώτην
 δημαρχῶν ἐκείνην ἡμέραν, οὐδένα ἔτι ὠφελούσης οὐτε
 ἐλευθερίας οὐτε δημοκρατίας οὐτε νόμων οὐτε ἀξιώ-

σεως οὔτε ἀρχῆς, ὅπου καὶ ἡ τῶν δημάρχων ἕς τε κώλυσιν ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ ἐς ἐπικούρησιν τῶν δημοτῶν γενομένη, ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος οὔσα, τοιάδε ὕβριζε καὶ τοιάδε ἔπασχεν. ἀναιρεθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀπουλήιον, ἡ μὲν βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐκεκράγεσαν κατακαλεῖν Μέτελλον, Πόπλιος δὲ Φούριος δήμαρχος, οὐδ' ἐλευθέρου πατρὸς ἀλλ' ἐξελευθέρου, θρασέως ἐνίστατο αὐτοῖς, καὶ οὐδὲ Μετέλλου τοῦ Μετέλλου παιδὸς ἰκετεύοντος αὐτὸν ἐν ὧφει τοῦ δήμου, καὶ δακρύοντος καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ προσπίπτοντος, ἐνεκλάσθη. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παῖς ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς ὧφews εὐσεβῆς ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἐκλήθη, τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους Φούριον μὲν ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐς δίκην Γάιος Κανουλῆιος δήμαρχος ὑπῆγε, καὶ ὁ δῆμος οὐδὲ τοὺς λόγους ὑπομείνας διέσπασε τὸν Φούριον· οὕτως αἰεὶ τι μῦσος ἐκάστου ἔτους ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐγίγνετο. Μετέλλῳ δ' ἡ κάθοδος ἐδόθη, καὶ φασιν αὐτῷ τὴν ἡμέραν οὐκ ἀρκέσαι περὶ τὰς πύλας δεξιουμένῳ τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας. τρίτον μὲν δὴ τότε ἔργον ἐμφύλιον ἦν τὸ Ἀπουλήιου, μετὰ δύο τὰ Γράκχεια, καὶ τοσάδε ἔργαστο Ῥωμαῖους.

Οὕτω δ' ἔχουσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ συμμαχικὸς καλούμενος πόλεμος ἐπιγίγνεται ἐθνῶν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πολλῶν, ἀρξάμενός τε παραδόξως καὶ ἀθρόως ἐπὶ μέγα προελθὼν καὶ τὰς στάσεις ἐν Ῥώμῃ σβέσας ὑπὸ δέους ἐπὶ πολὺ. λήγων δὲ καὶ ὁδε στάσεις τε ἄλλας καὶ στασι- ἀρχους δυνατωτέρους ἀνέθρεψεν, οὐ νόμου ἐσηγήσασιν ἔτι οὐδὲ δημοκοπῆαις ἀλλ' ἀθρόοις στρατεύμασι

33. 1 ὅπου καί, 'considering that even.'

3 ἐπὶ τῷδε, 'ob istam pertinaciam' (Schweigh.).

5 τοσάδε ἔργαστο Ῥωμαῖους, 'and so great the evils which it (the civic discord) had inflicted on the Romans. 'Verbum ἔργαστο, ut solet, active accipiendum cum duplici accusativo' (Schweigh.); cf. chs. 108. 4 and 110. 2.

chs. 34-37. The demands of the allies and the tribunate of Livius Drusus, B. C. 91.

3 κατ' ἀλλήλων χρωμένους. καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τὰδε συνήγαγον ἐς τήνδε τὴν συγγραφὴν, ἕκ τε τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ στάσεως ἀρξάμενον, καὶ ἐς πολὺ χείρονα στάσιν ἐτέραν ἐκπεσόντα. ἤρξατο δὲ ὧδε.

4 Φούλουιος Φλάκκος ὑπατεύων μάλιστα δὴ πρῶτος ὧδε ἐς τὸ φανερώτατον ἠρέθιζε τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας ἐπιθυμῖν τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας ὡς κοινωνοὺς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀντὶ ὑπηκόων ἐσομένων. ἐσηγούμενος δὲ τὴν γνώμην καὶ ἐπιμένων αὐτῇ καρτερῶς, ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς

5 ἐπὶ τινα στρατείαν ἐξεπέμφθη διὰ τόδε. ἐν ἣ τῆς ὑπατείας αὐτῷ δεδαπανημένης, ὃ δὲ καὶ δημαρχεῖν εἵλετο μετ' αὐτήν, καὶ ἔπραξε γενέσθαι σὺν Γράκχῳ τῷ νεωτέρῳ, τοιαύδε ἄλλα ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐσφέροντι κακείνῳ.

6 ἀναιρεθέντοι δὲ ἀμφοῖν, ὥς μοι προεῖρηται, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἠρέθιστο ἢ Ἰταλία. οὔτε γὰρ ἡξίουεν ἐν ὑπηκόων ἀντὶ κοινωνῶν εἶναι μέρει, οὔτε Φλάκκον καὶ Γράκχον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πολιτεύοντας τοιαύδε παθεῖν.

35 ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις καὶ Λίونيος Δροῦσος δημαρχῶν, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανέστατος ἐκ γένους, δεηθεῖσι τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις νόμον αὐθις ἐσενεγκεῖν περὶ τῆς πολιτείας ὑπ-

34. 5 ὁ δέ. The conjunction is pleonastic and must be omitted in translating, as in the familiar ἦ δ' ὅς in Plato's dialogues. Schweigh. reads ὅδε. The question whether the δέ in similar cases should or should not be united to the preceding pronoun is one which frequently recurs; see Buttmann's note on Soph. Phil. 87.

ὁ δὲ καὶ δημαρχεῖν εἵλετο, 'his consulship having been wasted in this campaign, Fulvius chose to hold the tribunate after the consulship, and managed to be elected along with the younger Gracchus who himself too was introducing similar proposals in favour of the Italians.' I have throughout followed Mend. in accentuating the article when it is used substantively for 'he' or 'some.'

ὁ ἠρέθιστο ἢ Ἰταλία. In this and the following chapters Ἰταλία and Ἰταλιῶται are always used for allies as distinguished from Romans; though in ch. 36. 3 there is a curious mention of Etruscans and Umbrians as apparently distinct from Ἰταλιῶται.

έσχετο· τούτου γάρ δὴ μάλιστα έπεθύμουν ὡς ἐνὶ τῷδε
αὐτίκα ἡγεμόνες ἀντὶ ὑπηκόων έσόμενοι. ὁ δὲ τὸν δῆ- 2
μον ἐς τοῦτο προθεραπεύων, ὑπήγετο ἀποικίαις πολ-
λαῖς ἐς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Σικελίαν ἐψηφισμέναις μὲν
ἐκ πολλοῦ, γεγονυῖαις δὲ οὕπῳ. τὴν τε βουλὴν καὶ 3
τοὺς ἱππέας, οἳ μάλιστα δὴ τότε ἀλλήλοις διὰ τὰ δι-
καστήρια διεφέροντο, ἐπικοίνῳ νόμῳ συναγαγεῖν ἐπει-
ράτο, σαφῶς μὲν οὐ δυνάμενος ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐπαν-
ενεγκεῖν τὰ δικαστήρια, τεχνάζων δ' ἐς ἑκατέρους ὧδε.
τῶν βουλευτῶν διὰ τὰς στάσεις τότε ὄντων μόλις ἀμφὶ 4
τοὺς τριακοσίους, ἑτέρους τοσοῦσδε αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν
ἱππέων ἐσηγεῖτο ἀριστίνδην προσκαταλεγῆναι, καὶ ἐκ

35. 2 ὑπήγετο, 'but Drusus, by way of coaxing the people to assent to this, proceeded to win them over by the prospect of many colonies to be sent out to Italy and Sicily.' The Epitomator of Livy (Book 71) mentions likewise a *lex frumentaria*. Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxxiii. § 13. 46 says, 'Livius Drusus in tribunatu plebei octavam partem aeris argento miscuit,' a passage which Mommsen (*Münzwesen*, p. 387, note 69) explains as indicating not a debasement of the coin by alloy, but the issue, as token money, of plated denarii in the ratio of 1 : 7 of the silver ones.

3 ἐπικοίνῳ νόμῳ (Mend.), 'by a law which was to share the courts between the two orders.' If we read ἐπὶ κοινῷ νόμῳ with Schweigh. and the MSS., we must translate, 'on the terms of carrying a law which was to share,' &c.

4 προσκαταλεγῆναι. Appian gives a version of the story which might enable us to reconcile in some sort the statement of the Epitomator of Livy (Book 71) that Drusus wished to divide the jury-courts between the two orders with that of Velleius (ii. 13. 2) that he wished simply to transfer them from *equites* to senate. If we are to trust Appian, Drusus, like Sulla after him (see ch. 100. 5), proposed to increase the senate by the addition of 300 from the equestrian order, and to hand over the jury-courts to the senate so enlarged. I do not think that this solution can be accepted. The best picture of the situation, as between Drusus and the senate on the one hand and the knights on the other, with Philippus the consul as their champion, is to be found in the Preface to the Third book of Cicero De Oratore. We there find that it is the 'senate as now constituted' which is attacked by Philippus and vigorously defended by Drusus and Crassus. The passage seems hardly consistent with Appian's statement that a radical change in the constitution of the senate had been

5 τῶνδε πάντων ἐς τὸ μέλλον εἶναι τὰ δικαστήρια. εὐ-
 θύνας τε ἐπ' αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι δωροδοκίας προσέγρα-
 φεν, ἐγκλήματος ἴσα δὴ καὶ ἀγνοουμένου διὰ τὸ ἔθος
 6 τῆς δωροδοκίας ἀνέδην ἐπιπολαζούσης. ὁ μὲν δὴ τάδε
 πρὸς ἐκατέρους ἐπενόει, περιῆλθε δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον
 αὐτῷ. ἥ τε γὰρ βουλὴ χαλεπῶς ἔφερεν ἀθρόως αὐτῇ
 τοσοῦσδε προσκαταλεγῆναι καὶ ἐξ ἱππέων ἐς τὸ μέγι-
 στον ἀξίωμα μεταβῆναι, οὐκ ἀδόκητον ἡγουμένη καὶ
 βουλευτὰς γενομένους κατὰ σφᾶς ἔτι δυνατώτερον τοῖς
 7 προτέροις βουλευταῖς στασιάσειν· οἳ τε ἱππεῖς ὑπώ-
 πτευον ὅτι τῇδε τῇ θεραπείᾳ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐς τὴν
 βουλὴν μόνην τὰ δικαστήρια ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππέων περι-
 φέροιτο, γευσάμενοί τε κερδῶν μεγάλων καὶ ἐξουσίας
 8 οὐκ ἀλύπως τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἔφερον. τό τε πλῆθος αὐτῶν
 ἐν ἀπορίᾳ σφᾶς ἐποίει καὶ ὑποψία πρὸς ἀλλήλους,
 τίνες ἀξιώτεροι δοκοῦσιν ἐς τοὺς τριακοσίους κατα-
 λεγῆναι· καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς φθόνος ἐς τοὺς κρείττους
 9 ἐσῆει. ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δ' ἠγανάκτουν ἀναφυομένου τοῦ
 τῆς δωροδοκίας ἐγκλήματος, ὃ τέως ἡγούντο καρτερῶς
 ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πρόρριζον ἐσβέσθαι.

proposed by Drusus, and inclines us rather to accept the story as told by Velleius.

5 ἐπ' αὐτῶν, 'before this tribunal.' Mend. suggests ἐπ' αὐτοῖς or κατ' αὐτῶν, 'directed against the *equites*.' This would better indicate what the knights really resented (see below, note on verse 9); but Appian never recognizes this, see above, note on ch. 22. 7.

8 πλῆθος αὐτῶν, 'the numbers of the *equites* (of whom the majority must needs be left in the cold) caused difficulty and suspicion amongst them.'

9 ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. The manuscript reading is ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, but this emendation adopted by Mend. from Didot seems on the whole preferable, 'which they thought till then had been crushed out with the strong hand for their benefit.' Drusus proposed to extend the liability to prosecution under the law of C. Gracchus, 'ne quis iudicio circumveniretur,' from the senators to the *equites*, and this proposal made them his deadly enemies; see Cic. Pro Clu. 56. 153 and Pro Rab. Post. 7. 16.

οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς καὶ ἡ βουλή, καίπερ 36
 ἔχοντες ἀλλήλοις διαφόρως, ἐς τὸ Δρούσου μίσος
 συνεφρόνουν, καὶ μόνος ὁ δῆμος ἔχαιρε ταῖς ἀποικίαις.
 οἱ Ἰταλιῶται δ', ὑπὲρ ὧν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ὁ Δρούσος 2
 ταῦτα ἐτέχναζε, καὶ οἶδε περὶ τῷ νόμῳ τῆς ἀποικίας ἐδε-
 δοίκεσαν, ὡς τῆς δημοσίας Ῥωμαίων γῆς, ἣν ἀνέμητον
 οὔσαν ἔτι οἱ μὲν ἐκ βίας οἱ δὲ λανθάνοντες ἐγεώρ-
 γουν, αὐτίκα σφῶν ἀφαιρεθησομένης, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ
 περὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἐνοχλησόμενοι. Τυρρηνοὶ τε καὶ Ὀμ- 3
 βριοὶ ταῦτ' ἀπειρῶντες τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις, καὶ ὡς
 ἐδόκει, πρὸς τῶν ὑπάτων ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπαχθέντες
 ἔργῳ μὲν ἐς ἀναίρεσιν Δρούσου λόγῳ δ' ἐς κατηγο-
 ρίαν, τοῦ νόμου φανερώς κατεβύων καὶ τὴν τῆς δοκι-
 μασίας ἡμέραν ἀνέμενον. ὧν ὁ Δρούσος αἰσθανόμενός 4
 τε, καὶ οὐ θαμινὰ προῖόν, ἀλλ' ἔνδον ἐν περιπάτῳ
 βραχὺ φῶς ἔχοντι χρηματίζων αἶεί, καὶ περὶ ἐσπέραν

36. 1 μόνος ὁ δῆμος ἔχαιρε. It appears from their conduct after Drusus' death (ch. 37. 1) that the democrats likewise were offended with him.

2 τῆς δημοσίας Ῥωμαίων γῆς. This shows that there must have been, even after the Law of 111 B. C., some divisible land left. That law (verses 31 and 32) does not convert into private land the holdings of municipia and colonies, but the existing custom is confirmed.

3 The mass of the Italians was devoted to Drusus, and like their ancestors in the time of Fulvius Flaccus (ch. 21. 2) they did not grudge the land if they could gain the citizenship; but there were doubtless many with whom private interests prevailed, and the consul Philippus seems to have used them freely in his opposition to Drusus. We need not suppose that, as Appian hints here, Philippus was privy to the assassination.

τὴν τῆς δοκιμασίας ἡμέραν ἀνέμενον. Appian is wrong here: the laws about the jury-courts and the colonies were actually passed, but only by tacking them together in a single enactment. This was contrary to the Lex Caecilia et Didia, and the senate, by the advice of Philippus, who was augur as well as consul, set the laws aside as invalid. All this took place in Drusus' lifetime, for he declined to veto the decree of the senate; see Cic. pro Domo, chs. 16 and 20; de Leg. ii. 12. 31; Diod. xxxvii. 10. 3.

τὸ πλῆθος ἀποπέμπων, ἐξεβόησεν ἄφνω πεπληχθαι, καὶ λέγων ἔτι κατέπεσεν. ἠύρεθη δὲ ἐς τὸν μηρὸν αὐτῷ σκυτοτόμου μαχαίριον ἐμπεπηγμένον.

- 37 οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ Δρούσος ἀνήρηντο δημαρχῶν. καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐπίβασιν ἐς συκοφαντίαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὸ πολίτευμα αὐτοῦ τιθέμενοι, Κόιντον Οὐάριον δῆμαρχον ἔπεισαν ἐσηγήσασθαι κρίσεις εἶναι κατὰ τῶν τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ φανερώς ἢ κρύφα βοηθούντων, ἐλπίσαντες τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἅπαντας αὐτίκα ἐς ἔγκλημα ἐπίφθονον ὑπάξεσθαι, καὶ δικάσειν μὲν αὐτοί, γενομένων δ' ἐκείνων ἐκποδῶν δυνατώτερον ἔτι τῆς πό-
- 2 λεως ἐπάρξειν. τὸν μὲν δὴ νόμον ἀπαγορευόντων τῶν ἐτέρων δημάρχων μὴ τίθεσθαι, περιστάντες οἱ ἱππεῖς σὺν ξιφιδίοις γυμνοῖς ἐκύρωσαν ὥς δ' ἐκεκύρωτο, αὐτίκα τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐπεγρά-
- 3 φοντο κατήγοροι. καὶ Βηστίας μὲν οὐδ' ὑπακούσας ἐκὼν ἔφευγεν ὥς οὐκ ἐκδώσων ἑαυτὸν ἐς χεῖρας ἐχθρῶν, καὶ Κόττας ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ παρήλθε μὲν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον, σεμνολογήσας δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπεπολίτευτο, καὶ λοιδορησάμενος τοῖς ἱππεῦσι φανερώς, ἐξήει τῆς
- 4 πόλεως καὶ ὅδε πρὸ τῆς ψήφου. Μούμμιος δ' ὁ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλὼν, αἰσχροῦς ἐνεδρευθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων ὑποσχομένων αὐτὸν ἀπολύσειν, κατεκρίθη φεύγειν, καὶ
- 38 ἐν Δήλῳ διεβίωσεν. ἐπιπολάζοντος δ' ἐς πολὺ τοῦ κακοῦ κατὰ τῶν ἀρίστων, ὃ τε δῆμος ἤχθετο τοιῶνδε καὶ τοσάδε εἰργασμένων ἀνδρῶν ἀθρόως ἀφαιρούμενος, καὶ οἱ Ἰταλοὶ τοῦ τε Δρούσου πάθους πυνθανό-

37. 1 καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς, &c. The union of the knights with the democrats to establish the Varian commission against the aristocratic friends of Drusus was their revenge for the attempt which Drusus had made to render them liable to prosecution for judicial corruption.

4 Μούμμιος δ' ὁ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλὼν. To account for this strange anachronism of half a century, it has been supposed that Appian found a Memmius among the victims and confused the names.

chs. 38-53. The Social War.

μενοι καὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν φυγὴν τούτων προφάσεως, οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν σφίσιν ἔτι ἡγούμενοι τοὺς ὑπὲρ σφῶν πολυτεύοντας τοιάδε πάσχειν, οὐδ' ἄλλην τινὰ μηχανὴν ἐλπίδος ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἔτι ὀρώντες, ἔγνωσαν ἀποστῆναι Ῥωμαίων ἀντικρυς καὶ πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς κατὰ κράτος. κρύφα τε διεπρεσβεύοντο συντιθέμενοι περὶ τῶνδε, καὶ ὄμηρα διέπεμπον ἐς πίστιν ἀλλήλοις. ὦν ἐς πολὺ μὲν οὐκ ἐπήσθοντο Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τὰς ἐν ἄστει κρίσεις τε καὶ στάσεις· ὡς δ' ἐπύθοντο, περιέπεμπον ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἀπὸ σφῶν τοὺς ἐκάστοις μάλιστα ἐπιτηδείους, ἀφανῶς τὰ γιγνόμενα ἐξετάζειν. καὶ τις ἐκ τούτων μειράκιον ὄμηρον ἰδὼν ἐξ Ἀσκλου πόλεως ἐς ἑτέραν ἀγόμενον, ἐμήνυσσε τῷ περὶ τὰ χωρία ἀνθυπάτῳ Σερουιλίῳ. ἦσαν γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τότε καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἄρχοντες ἀνθύπατοι κατὰ μέρη· ὁ καὶ Ἀδριανὸς ἄρα μιμούμενος ὕστερον χρόνῳ πολλῷ, τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν Ῥωμαίοις ἡγούμενος, ἀνεκαίνισσε, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐπέμεινεν ἐς βραχύ. ὁ δὲ Σερουίλιος θερμότερον ἐσδραμὼν ἐς τὸ Ἀσκλον, καὶ πανηγυρίζουσι τοῖς Ἀσκλαίοις χαλεπῶς ἀπειλῶν, ἀνηρέθη ὡς ὑπὸ ἤδη πεφωραμένων. ἐπανήρέθη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Φοντήμιος, ὃς ἐπρέσβευεν αὐτῷ· καλοῦσι δ' οὕτω τοὺς τοῖς ἡγεμόσι

38. 4 For Hadrian's division of Italy for judicial purposes into four districts each under a *consularis* see Marquardt, *Röm. Staats-Verwaltung*, i. p. 72. Appian is mistaken in thinking that there was any such a jurisdiction in Republican times. Mommsen (*Staatsrecht*, ii³, p. 235) supposes that Servilius was a praetor or pro-praetor appointed to a special military command over a particular district, subject to the *maius imperium* of the consuls. Perhaps it is simpler to suppose that Servilius was a provincial governor passing through Asculum on his way either to or from his province. We know from Cic. in Verr. v. 16. 40 that a pro-praetor so situated would be expected to act *pro imperio* in case of any emergency.

6 ὃς ἐπρέσβευσεν αὐτῷ. The legatus was, as the name imports, originally an envoy or commissioner sent by the senate to a Roman general. Hence Polybius always translates the word by *πρεσβευτής*. Later Greek writers, including Appian (ch. 40. 2),

τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπομένους ἐς βοήθειαν.
 7 πεσόντων δὲ τῶνδε, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων ἦν τις
 φειδῶ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι πάντας οἱ Ἀσκλαῖοι συν-
 ἐκέντουν ἐπιτρέχοντες, καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς διήρπαζον.

- 39 ἐκραγείσης δὲ τῆς ἀποστάσεως, ἅπαντα ὅσα τοῖς
 Ἀσκλαῖοις ἔθνη γείτονα ἦν, συνεξέφηνε τὴν παρα-
 σκευήν, Μάρσοι τε καὶ Παιλιγνοὶ καὶ Οὐηστῖνοι καὶ
 Μαρρουκῖνοι, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις Πικεντῖνοι καὶ Φρεν-
 τανοὶ καὶ Ἰρπῖνοι καὶ Πομπηϊανοὶ καὶ Οὐενύσιοι καὶ
 Ἰάπυγες, Λευκανοὶ τε καὶ Σαννῖται, χαλεπὰ Ῥωμαίοις
 καὶ πρὶν ἔθνη γενόμενα, ὅσα τε ἄλλα ἀπὸ Λίριος πο-
 ταμοῦ, ὃν νῦν μοι δοκοῦσι Λίτερνον ἡγεῖσθαι, ἐπὶ
 2 πλέοντι. πέμψασι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐς Ῥώμην πρέσβεις, αἰτια-
 σομένους ὅτι πάντα Ῥωμαίοις ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν συνεργασά-

generally render it in accordance with the facts of their time ὑποστράτηγος; but in this passage and in ch. 77. 1 he has reverted to the earlier nomenclature.

39. 1 ἐκραγείσης τῆς ἀποστάσεως. This is in the beginning of the year 90 B.C. *coss.* Rutilio Lupo, L. Caesare.

συνεξέφηνε τὴν παρασκευήν, 'openly declared their complicity.'

The tribes mentioned here as taking part in the revolt are chiefly those of central and eastern Italy. The Pompeians are uncertain, but probably the inhabitants of Pompeii on the Bay of Naples are intended; see ch. 50. 3. Iapyges mean in Appian (*cf.* ch. 42. 7) Apulians; see Smith's *Dict. Geogr.*

Liris and Liternus. The Liternus, from which (Livy, xxxii. 29. 3) the colony founded at its mouth is named, joins the sea some forty-five miles south of the mouth of the Liris at Minturnae. It is identified by Bunbury (Smith's *Dict. Geogr.*) with 'the small and sluggish stream which forms the outlet of this lake (the Literna Palus) to the sea.'

πέμψοντι καὶ περιπλέοντι. The limits of the revolted area are traced by going up the Liris from mouth to source, and then proceeding roughly in the same direction (northerly) to the head of the Adriatic; there you take ship and coast round by the Straits of Messina until you complete the circle by again reaching the mouth of the Liris in Latium. You have thus included all eastern and southern Italy.

μενοι οὐκ ἀξιοῦνται τῆς τῶν βεβοηθημένων πολιτείας, ἡ βουλὴ μάλα καρτερῶς ἀπεκρίνατο, εἰ μεταγιγνώσκουσι τῶν γεγονότων, πρεσβεύειν ἐς αὐτήν, ἄλλως δὲ μή. οἱ 3
 μὲν δὴ πάντα ἀπογνόντες ἐς παρασκευὴν καθίσταντο· καὶ αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ τῷ κατὰ πόλιν στρατῷ, κοινὸς ἦν ἰππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν ἕτερος ἐς δέκα μυριάδας. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν ἴσον αὐτοῖς ἀντεξέπεμπον ἀπὸ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἔτι συμμαχούντων σφίσιν ἔθνων τῆς Ἰταλίας. ἡγούντο δὲ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ὕπατοι Σέξτος τε 40
 Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ καὶ Πόπλιος Ῥουτίλιος Λούπος· ἄμφω γὰρ ὥς ἐς μέγαν τε καὶ ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ἐξήεσαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς πύλας οἱ ὑπόλοιποι καὶ τὰ τείχη διὰ χειρὸς εἶχον ὥς ἐπ' οἰκείῳ καὶ γείτονι μάλιστα ἔργῳ. τό 2
 τε ποικίλον τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πολυμερές ἐνθυμούμενοι ὑποστρατήγους τοῖς ὑπάτοις συνέπεμψαν τοὺς τότε ἀρίστους, ὑπὸ μὲν Ῥουτιλίῳ Γναίῳ τε Πομπήϊον, τὸν πατέρα Πομπήϊου τοῦ Μάγνου παρονομασθέντος, καὶ Κόιντον Καιπίωνα καὶ Γάιον Περπένναν καὶ Γάιον Μάριον καὶ Οὐαλέριον Μεσσάλαν, ὑπὸ Σέξτῳ Καίσαρι Πόπλιον Λέντλον, ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ Τίτον Δίδιον καὶ Λικίνιον Κράσσον καὶ Κορνήλιον Σύλλαν, καὶ Μάρκελλον ἐπὶ τοῖσδε. τοσοῖδε μὲν δὴ 3
 τοῖς ὑπάτοις, διελόμενοι τὴν χώραν, ὑπεστρατήγουν. καὶ πάντας ἐπεπορεύοντο οἱ ὕπατοι καὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἑτέρους ὥς ἐς μέγαν ἀγῶνα ἔπεμπον ἐκάστοτε. Ἰταλοῖς δ' ἦσαν μὲν στρατηγοὶ καὶ κατὰ πόλεις 4
 ἕτεροι, κοινὸς δ' ἐπὶ τῷ κοινῷ στρατῷ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς αὐτοκράτορες Τίτος Λαφρήνιος καὶ Γάιος Ποντίλιος καὶ Μάριος Ἐγνάτιος καὶ Κόιντος Πομπαῖδιος

3 ἐπὶ τῷ κατὰ πόλιν στρατῷ, 'in addition to the local forces of each state.'

40. 1 Σέξτος τε Ἰούλιος. Schweigh. points out that throughout these chapters Appian names Sextus Caesar as the consul and commander-in-chief for 90 B. C. Sextus was really consul in 91, and the consul of 90 is his cousin Lucius; see note on ch. 48. 5.

- καὶ Γάιος Πάπιος καὶ Μάρκος Λαμπώνιος καὶ Γάιος Ἰουδακίλιος καὶ Ἑριος Ἀσίνιος καὶ Οὐέττιος Κάτων·
- 5 οἱ τὸν στρατὸν ὁμοίως μερισάμενοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῖς ἀντεκαθέζοντο, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔδρασαν πολλὰ δ' ἔπαθον· ὧν ἑκατέρων, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ φράσαι, τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα ἦν τοιαῦδε.
- 41 Οὐέττιος μὲν Κάτων Σέξτον Ἰούλιον τρεψάμενός τε καὶ δισχιλίους κτείνας ἐπὶ Αἰσερνίαν ἦλασε Ῥωμαίζουσιν· καὶ αὐτὴν οἱ μὲν συντάττοντες, Λεύκιός τε Σκιπίων καὶ Λεύκιος Ἀκίλιος, θεραπόντων ἐσθῆτας ὑποδύντες ἀπέδρασαν, χρόνῳ δὲ καὶ λιμῷ παρεστήσαντο
- 2 οἱ πολέμιοι. Μάριος δὲ Ἐγνάτιος Οὐέναφρον ἐλὼν ἐκ προδοσίας ἔκτεινε δύο Ῥωμαίων σπείρας ἐν αὐτῇ. Πρησενταῖος δὲ Πόπλιος Περπένναν μυρίων ἀνδρῶν ἡγούμενον ἐτρέψατο, καὶ ἔκτεινεν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ πλέονος μέρους τὰ ὄπλα ἔλαβεν· ἐφ' ὅτῳ Περπένναν Ῥουτίλιος ὕπατος παρέλυσεν τῆς στρατηγίας, καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ Γαίῳ Μαρίῳ
- 3 προσέθηκεν. Μάρκος δὲ Λαμπώνιος τῶν ἀμφὶ Λικίνιον Κράσσον ἀνείλεν ἐς ὀκτακοσίους, καὶ τοὺς λοι-
- 42 πούς ἐς Γρούμεντον πόλιν συνεδίωξεν. Γάιος δὲ Πάπιος Νῶλάν τε εἶλεν ἐκ προδοσίας, καὶ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥωμαίοις, δισχιλίους οὖσιν, ἐκήρυξεν, εἰ μεταθοῖντο,
- 2 στρατεύσειν ἐαυτῷ. καὶ τοῦσδε μὲν ὁ Πάπιος μεταθεμένους ἐστράτευσεν· οἱ δ' ἡγέμονες αὐτῶν οὐχ ὑπακούσαντες τῷ κηρύγματι ἐλήφθησαν αἰχμάλωτοι, καὶ
- 3 λιμῷ πρὸς τοῦ Παπίου διεφθάρησαν. Πάπιος δὲ καὶ Σταβίας εἶλε καὶ Μινόερνον καὶ Σάλερνον, ἧ Ῥωμαίων ἀποικος ἦν· καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν αἰχμαλώτους τε καὶ

chs. 41, 42. Of the places mentioned in these chapters as the seat of war, Aesernia and Venafrum are on the border between Samnium and Latium, Grumentum in central Lucania, Venusia and Canusium in Apulia, and the other places in Campania which was invaded from the Samnite country to the east. Minoernum (ch. 42. 3) is unknown and probably corrupt.

δούλους ἑστράτευσεν. ὥς δὲ καὶ Νουκερίας τὰ ἐν κύ- 4
 κλω πάντα κατέπρησεν, αἱ πλησίον αὐτῷ πόλεις κατα-
 πλαγεῖσαι προσετίθεντο, στρατιάν τε αἰτοῦντι παρέσχον
 ἐς μυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας χιλίους. μεθ' ὧν ὁ Πά-
 πιος Ἀχέρραις παρεκάθητο. Σέξτου δὲ Καίσαρος Γαλα- 5
 τῶν πεζοὺς μυρίους καὶ Νομάδας Μαυρουσίους ἱππέας
 καὶ πεζοὺς προσλαβόντος τε καὶ χωρῶντος ἐπὶ τὰς
 Ἀχέρρας, ὁ Πάπιος Ὀξύνταν, υἱὸν Ἰογόρθα τοῦ Νο-
 μάδων ποτὲ βασιλέως, ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐν Οὐενουσίᾳ φυ-
 λαττόμενον, ἤγαγεν ἐκ τῆς Οὐενουσίας, καὶ περιθείς
 αὐτῷ πορφύραν βασιλικὴν ἐπεδείκνυ θάμινά τοῖς Νο-
 μάσι τοῖς σὺν Καίσαρι. πολλῶν δ' ὥς πρὸς ἴδιον 6
 βασιλέα αὐτομολούντων ἀθρόως, τοὺς μὲν λοιποὺς τῶν
 Νομάδων ὥς ὑπόπτους ὁ Καίσαρ ἐς Λιβύην ἀπέπεμψε·
 Παπίου δὲ πελάσαντος αὐτῷ σὺν καταφρονήσει, καὶ
 μέρος ἤδη τοῦ χάρακος διασπῶντος, τοὺς ἱππέας ἐκ-
 πέμψας κατ' ἄλλας πύλας ἔκτεινε τοῦ Παπίου περὶ
 ἑξακισχιλίους. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Καίσαρ μὲν ἐξ Ἀχερρῶν 7
 ἀνεζεύγνυνε, Ἰουδακίῳ δ' ἐν Ἰαπυγίᾳ προσετίθεντο
 Κανύσιοι καὶ Οὐενούσιοι καὶ ἕτεραι πόλεις πολλαί. τι-
 νὰς δὲ καὶ ἀπειθούσας ἐξεπολιόρκει, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς
 Ῥωμαίων τοὺς μὲν ἐπιφανεῖς ἔκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ δημό-
 τας καὶ δούλους ἑστράτευεν.

Ῥουτίλιος ὁ ὕπατος καὶ Γάιος Μάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ 43
 Λίριος ποταμοῦ γεφύρας ἐς διάβασιν ἐξ οὗ πολλοῦ
 διαστήματος ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἐπήγνυντο· καὶ Οὐέττιος
 Κάτων αὐτοῖς ἀντεστρατοπέδευε παρὰ τὴν Μαρίου μά-
 λιστα γέφυραν, ἔλαθέ τε νυκτὸς περὶ τὴν Ῥουτιλίου

43. 1 The Liris takes its rise in the country of the Marsi not far from Lake Fucinus and flows through eastern Latium. The defeat and death of Rutilius and of Caepio (ch. 44) may have taken place on the upper waters of the Liris, in which case the advance in ch. 46 of Marius and Sulla against the Marsian country would take place from the same base of operations; we may call this the central army.

- 2 γέφυραν λόχους ἐν φάραγξιν ἐνεδρεύσας. ἅμα δ' ἔφ
τὸν Ῥουτίλιον διελθεῖν ὑπεριδὼν ἀνέστησε τὰς ἐνέδρας,
καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἔκτεινεν ἐπὶ τοῦ ξηροῦ, πολλοὺς δ' ἐς
τὸν ποταμὸν κατῶσεν· ὃ τε Ῥουτίλιος αὐτὸς ἐν τῷδε
τῷ πόνῳ βέλει τρωθεὶς ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν μετ' ὀλίγον
3 ἀπέθανεν. καὶ Μάριος ἐπὶ τῆς ἐτέρας ὠν γεφύρας,
τὸ συμβὰν ἐκ τῶν φερομένων κατὰ τὸ ρεῦμα σωμαίων
εἰκάσας τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν ὥσατο, καὶ τὸ ρεῦμα περάσας
τὸν χάρακα τοῦ Κάτωνος ὑπ' ὀλίγων φυλαττόμενον
εἶλεν, ὥστε τὸν Κάτωνα νυκτερεῦσθαι τε ἔνθαπερ ἐνί-
κησε, καὶ ἀποροῦντα ἀγορᾶς ἀναζευξαι περὶ τὴν ἔω.
4 Ῥουτιλίου δὲ τοῦ σώματος καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφα-
νῶν ἐπὶ ταφὴν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐνεχθέντων, ἥ τε ὄψις ἀηθῆς
ἦν ὑπάτου καὶ τοσῶνδε ἄλλων ἀνηρημένων, καὶ πολυ-
5 ἡμερον ἐπὶ τῷδε πένθος ἠγέρθη. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἡ
βουλὴ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἔκρινεν,
ἐνθαπερ ἂν θάνωσι, θάπτεσθαι, τοῦ μὴ τοὺς λοιποὺς
ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως ἀποτρέπεσθαι τῶν στρατειῶν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ
καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι, πυθόμενοι, περὶ σφῶν ἐψηφίσαντο.
- 44 Ῥουτιλίῳ μὲν δὴ διάδοχος ἐπὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους
οὐκ ἐγένετο, Σέξτου Καίσαρος οὐκ ἀγαγόντος σχολὴν
διαδραμεῖν ἐπὶ ἀρχαιρεσίᾳ ἐς Ῥώμην· τῆς δ' ὑπ' αὐτῷ
στρατιᾶς ἡ βουλὴ προσέταξεν ἄρχειν Γαίον τε Μάριον
2 καὶ Κόιντον Καιπίωνα. τούτῳ τῷ Καιπίωνι Κόιντος
Πομπαίδιος ὁ ἀντιστράτηγος οἶά τις αὐτόμολος προσ-
έφυγεν, ἄγων καὶ διδούς ἐνέχυρον δύο βρέφη δούλα,
καθάπερ υἱεῖς, ἐσκευασμένα ἐσθῆσι περιπορφύροις. ἐς
δὲ πίστιν ἔφερε καὶ μάζας ἐκ μολίβδου, χρυσῷ καὶ
ἀργύρῳ περιβεβλημένας· καὶ ἐδεῖτο κατὰ σπουδὴν αὐτῷ
τὸν Καιπίωνα ἔπεσθαι μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὡς καταλη-
ψόμενον αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔρημον ἔτι ἄρχοντος.
- 3 Καιπίων μὲν δὴ πειθόμενος εἶπετο, Πομπαίδιος δὲ

πλησίον τῆς ἐσκευασμένης ἐνέδρας γενόμενος ἀνέδρα-
μεν ἔς τινα λόφον ὡς κατοψόμενος τοὺς πολεμίους,
καὶ σημεῖον αὐτοῖς ἐπῆρεν. οἱ δὲ ἐκφανέντες αὐτὸν ⁴
τε Καίπωνα καὶ πολλοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ κατέκοψαν· καὶ
τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς στρατιᾶς Καίπιωνος ἡ σύγκλητος Μαρῖω
προσέζευξεν.

Σέξτος δὲ Καῖσαρ μετὰ τρισμυρίων πεζῶν καὶ ἵπ- ⁴⁵
πέων πεντακισχιλίων διεξιὼν τινα φάραγγα καὶ κρη-
μονούς, ἄφνω προσπεσόντος αὐτῷ Μαρῖου Ἐγνατίου
ἐς τὴν φάραγγα περιωσθεὶς ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ κλίνης, διὰ νό-
σον, ἐπὶ τινα ποταμὸν οὐ μία γέφυρα ἦν· καὶ ἐνταῦθα
τὸ πλεόν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπολέσας καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων
τὰ ὄπλα, μόλις ἐς Τεανόν καταφυγὼν ὥπλιζεν οὓς ἔτι
εἶχεν, ὡς ἐδύνατο. ἐτέρου δὲ πλήθους αὐτῷ κατὰ σπον- ²
δὴν ἐπελθόντος, ἐπὶ Ἀχέρρας ἔτι πολιορκουμένης ὑπὸ
τοῦ Παπίου μετῆι. καὶ οἶδε μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἀντιστρατο-
πεδεύοντες οὐκ ἐπεχείρουν οὐδέτερος οὐδετέρῳ διὰ
φόβον· Μάρσους δὲ Κορνήλιος Σύλλας καὶ Γάιος Μά- ⁴⁶
ριος ἐπιθεμένους σφίσι συντόνως ἐδίωκον, μέχρ' θρ-
γκοῖς ἀμπέλων ἐμπεσεῖν αὐτούς. καὶ Μάρσοι μὲν τοὺς
θριγκοὺς κακοπαθῶς ὑπερέβαινον, Μαρῖω δὲ καὶ Σύλλα
διώκειν ὑπὲρ τούτους οὐκ ἔδοξεν. Κορνήλιος δὲ Σύλ- ²
λας ἐπὶ θάτερα τῶνδε τῶν ἀμπέλων στρατοπεδεύων,
αἰσθόμενος τοῦ γεγονότος ὑπὴντα τοῖς ἐκφεύγουσι
τῶν Μάρσων, καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ὅδε ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡς
τὸν φόνον ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας γενέσθαι περὶ πλείους

45. In this chapter we go back to the southern army under Caesar and his legati in Campania which we left in ch. 42.

1 Τεανόν, i.e. Teanum Sidicinum in north of Campania. Acerra (next verse) is in the neighbourhood of Naples, some twenty-five miles SE. of Teanum.

46. Takes up the story of the central army, with which, however, a division of Caesar's army under Sulla appears to be co-operating. Kiene (*Bundesgenossenkrieg*, p. 198) thinks that the tale of Sulla's presence is a partisan invention.

ἐξακισχιλίων, ὅπλα δ' ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ληφθῆναι πολὺ πλείονα.

- 3 Μάρσοι μὲν δὴ δίκην θηρίων, τῷ πταίσματι προσ-
αγανακτοῦντες, αἷθις ὠπλίζοντο, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο
αὐτοῖς ἐπιέναι προεπιχειρεῖν μὴ θαρροῦσι, μηδὲ ἄρ-
χειν μάχης· ἔστι γὰρ τὸ ἔθνος πολεμικώτατον, καὶ φασι
κατ' αὐτοῦ θρίαμβον ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ πταίσματι γενέσθαι
μόνῳ, λεγόμενον πρότερον οὔτε κατὰ Μάρσων οὔτε
47 ἄνευ Μάρσων γενέσθαι θρίαμβον. περὶ δὲ τὸ Φαλέρ-
ινον ὄρος Γναῖον Πομπήιον Ἰουδακίλιος καὶ Τίτος
Λαφρήνιος καὶ Πόπλιος Οὐέττιος ἐς ταὐτὸν ἀλλήλοις
συνελθόντες ἐτρέποντο, καὶ κατεδίωκον ἐς πόλιν Φίρ-
2 μον. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐφ' ἕτερα ὥχοντο, Λαφρήνιος
δὲ παρεκάθητο Πομπήϊον ἐς τὸ Φέρμον κατακεκλεισμένῳ.
ὁ δ' αὐτίκα μὲν ὀπλίζων τοὺς ὑπολοίπους ἐς χεῖρας
οὐκ ἦει, προσελθόντος δὲ ἐτέρου στρατοῦ Σουλπίκιον
περιέπεμπεν ὀπίσω τοῦ Λαφρηνίου γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς
3 κατὰ μέτωπον ἐπήει. γενομένης δ' ἐν χερσὶ τῆς μάχης
καὶ πονουμένοιον ἀμφοῖν, ὁ Σουλπίκιος ἐπετίμπρη τὸ
τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον, καὶ τοῦθ' οἱ πολέμοι κατ-
ιδόντες ἐς Ἀσκλον ἔφευγον, ἀκόσμως ἅμα καὶ ἀστρα-

3 θρίαμβον. The triumph is doubtless that described in the *Fasti Triumphales*, 'Cn. Pompeius Sex. f. Cn. n. Strabo Cons. de Asculaneis Picentibus vi. Kal. Ian.' (i.e. Dec. 24, 89 B.C.). It must have been over all the northern tribes including the Marsi; see Kiene, *Bundesgenossenkrieg*, p. 208.

chs. 47, 48. We are now transported to the northern seat of war in Picenum which was conducted by legates of the consul Rutilius.

In 47. 1 I have admitted the reading Φαλέρινον ὄρος into the text; see Mend. note. Faleria is in northern Picenum near Firmum; Φαλερνόν, the reading of most of the MSS., would take us to the Mons Falernus of Campania, which is quite out of the way.

Among the commanders mentioned in this chapter, I have rejected the conjecture Ἀφράνιος (Mend.) and have retained Λαφρήνιος, the manuscript reading, with Schweigh. (likewise in ch. 40. 4). I have followed Mend. in admitting into the text here Οὐέττιος from Schweigh. note.

τηγήτως· Λαφρήνιος γὰρ ἐπεπτώκει μαχόμενος. Πομ-
πήιος δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἄσκλον ἐπελθὼν ἐπολιόρκει.

πατρίς δ' ἦν Ἰουδακιλίου τὸ Ἄσκλον, καὶ δεδιὼς 48
ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἠεΐγετο, σπείρας ἄγων ὀκτώ. προπέμψας
τε τοῖς Ἀσκλαίοις ἐκέλευσεν, ὅταν αὐτὸν ἴδωσι πόρρω-
θεν ἐπιόντα, ἐκδραμεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς περικαθημένους, ὡς
τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐκατέρωθεν γενέσθαι. ἀλλ' 2
Ἀσκλαῖοι μὲν ἀπώκνησαν, ὁ δὲ Ἰουδακίλιος καὶ ὥς ἐς
τὴν πόλιν διὰ μέσων τῶν πολεμίων ἐσδραμὼν μεθ'
ὄσων ἐδυνήθη, ὠνείδισε μὲν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀτολμίαν καὶ
δυσπείθειαν, οὐκ ἐλπίζων δ' ἔτι τὴν πόλιν περιέσε- 3
σθαι, τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς, οἳ τέως αὐτῷ διεφέροντο καὶ
τότε διὰ φθόνον τὸ πλῆθος ἐς αὐτὸν παρήγγελλεν ἀπέτρε-
ψαν, ἔκτεινε πάντας, ἐν δὲ ἱερῷ πυρὰν νήσας, καὶ
κλίνην ἐπιθεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾷ, παρηνωχήθη σὺν τοῖς
φίλοις, καὶ προΐοντος τοῦ πότου φάρμακόν τε προσ-
ηνέγκατο, καὶ κατακλίνας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς πυρᾶς ἐκέλευσε
τοῖς φίλοις ἄψαι τὸ πῦρ. καὶ Ἰουδακίλιος μὲν ὧδε 4
φιλοτιμηθεὶς πρὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθανεῖν κατελύθη·
Σέξτος δὲ Καῖσαρ, ἐξήκοντος αὐτῷ τοῦ χρόνου τῆς
ἀρχῆς ἀνθύπατος ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς αἰρεθείς, ἐπέδραμεν
ἀνδράσι δις μυρίοις μεταστρατοπεδεύουσίν ποι, καὶ
ἔκτεινεν αὐτῶν ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους, ὅπλα τε πολὺ πλειό-

48. 1 Judacilius had come from the south (from Apulia, ch. 42. 7) and had taken part in the operations in Picenum (ch. 47. 1).

3 The date of Judacilius' suicide is uncertain. Appian seems to place it among the events of 90 B. C. But Asculum was taken (Livy, *Epit.* 76) by Cn. Pompeius Strabo, consul in 89 B. C., and it seems unlikely that Judacilius' despair should have long preceded the actual fall of the place.

4 Σέξτος δὲ Καῖσαρ. The proconsul, whose death is mentioned here, is, it seems, rightly named Sextus Caesar, though Appian ought to have described him as the consul of 91 B. C., not of 90 B. C. (see note on ch. 40. 1). Lucius, the consul of 90 B. C., was censor in 89 B. C. and can hardly have been employed as proconsul. His death in the Marian massacres is mentioned later on (ch. 72. 1) ; see Kiene, *Bundesgenossenkrieg*, p. 204.

νων ἔλαβεν. χρονίου δ' αὐτῷ τῆς περὶ τὸ Ἀσκλον οὔσης πολιορκίας, ἀποθνήσκων ἐκ νόσου ἀντιστράτηγον ἀπέφηνε Γάιον Βαίβιον.

- 49 καὶ τὰδε μὲν ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἦν τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἴόνιον αἰσθόμενοι δ' αὐτῶν οἱ ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς Ῥώμης Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ Ὀμβρικοὶ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ αὐτοῖς ἔθνη
 2 γειτονεύοντα, πάντες ἐς ἀπόστασιν ἡρεθίζοντο. δείσασα οὖν ἡ βουλὴ μὴ ἐν κύκλῳ γενόμενος αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος ἀφύλακτος ᾗ, τὴν μὲν θάλασσαν ἐφρούρει τὴν ἀπὸ Κύμης ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστν δι' ἀπελευθέρων, τότε πρῶτον ἐς στρατείαν δι' ἀπορίαν ἀνδρῶν καταλεγέντων, Ἰταλιωτῶν δὲ τοὺς ἔτι ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ παραμένοντας ἐψηφίσατο εἶναι πολίτας, οὗ δὴ μάλιστα μόνου πάντες ἐπεθύμουν. καὶ τὰδε ἐς Τυρρηνοὺς περιέπεμπεν, οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοι τῆς πολιτείας μετελάμβανον. καὶ τῇδε τῇ χάριτι ἡ βουλὴ τοὺς μὲν εὖνους εὖνουστέρους ἐποίησε,

49. 2 δείσασα οὖν ἡ βουλὴ. Here we are certainly dealing with the year 90 B. C. Lucius Caesar, consul for that year, must have returned to Rome just before the expiry of his term of office to propose the law mentioned in the next note.

Ἰταλιωτῶν . . . εἶναι πολίτας. This enfranchisement was accomplished by two laws (1) the *Lex Iulia* of L. Caesar, the consul of 90 B. C., which allowed any allied state not actually in revolt to merge itself by its own act in the Roman state. Any *populus* which did so was said 'fundum fieri legis Iuliae' (Cic. Pro Balb. 8. 21). The citizens of such a state became *ipso facto* Romans. (2) The *Lex Plautio-Papiria* (probably passed by the new tribunes not long after they entered on office on December 10, 90 B. C.) was framed to meet the case of individuals belonging to states which had not been so absorbed in Rome, and of other persons domiciled in Italy though not members of any Italian *civitas*. Any such person was permitted to present himself within sixty days to the praetor and pass over by his own separate act into the Roman citizenship, thereby renouncing his former state. Cicero's client Archias (Pro Arch. 4. 7) was admitted under the Plautio-Papirian law, either because, though domiciled, he was not an actual citizen of Heraclea, or because, supposing him to have been a citizen, it was doubtful at the moment (Pro Balbo, l. c.) whether or not Heraclea would submit to extinction as a separate state by accepting the *Lex Iulia*.

τοὺς δὲ ἐνδοιάζοντας ἐβεβαιώσατο, τοὺς δὲ πολεμοῦν-
 τας ἐλπίδι τινὶ τῶν ὁμοίων πραοτέρους ἐποίησεν. Ῥω- 4
 μαῖοι μὲν δὴ τούσδε τοὺς νεοπολίτας οὐκ ἐς τὰς πέντε
 καὶ τριάκοντα φυλάς, αἱ τότε ἦσαν αὐτοῖς, κατέλεξαν,
 ἵνα μὴ τῶν ἀρχαίων πλέονες ὄντες ἐν ταῖς χειρο-
 τονίαις ἐπικρατοῖεν, ἀλλὰ δεκατεύοντες ἀπέφηναν ἐτέ-
 ρας, ἐν αἷς ἐχειροτόνουν ἔσχατοι. καὶ πολλάκις αὐτῶν 5
 ἢ ψῆφος ἀχρεῖος ἦν, ἅτε τῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα
 προτέρων τε καλουμένων καὶ οὐσῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῖν. ὅπερ
 ἢ λαθὼν αὐτίκα, ἢ καὶ ὥς αὐτὸ ἀγαπησάντων τῶν
 Ἰταλιωτῶν, ὕστερον ἐπιγνωσθὲν ἐτέρας στάσεως ἥρξεν.

οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἴόνιον οὐπω τὴν Τυρρηνῶν μετά- 50
 νοιαν ἐγνωκότες, μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους ὁδὸν
 ἀτριβῇ καὶ μακρὰν ἐς τὴν Τυρρηνίαν ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ
 περιέπεμπον. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσὼν Γναῖος Πομπήιος,
 ὕπατος ὢν ἤδη, διέφθειρεν ἐς πεντακισχιλίους· καὶ 2
 τῶν λοιπῶν ἐς τὰ σφέτερα δι' ἀπόρου χώρας καὶ χει-
 μῶνος ἐπιπόνου διατρεχόντων οἱ ἡμίσεις βαλανηφα-
 γοῦντες διεφθάρησαν. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος Πόρκιος 3
 μὲν Κάτων, ὁ σύναρχος τοῦ Πομπηίου, Μάρσοις πο-
 λεμῶν ἀνῆρέθη, Λεύκιος δὲ Κλοέντιος Σύλλα περὶ τὰ
 Πομπαιᾶ ὄρη στρατοπεδεύοντι μάλα καταφρονητικῶς
 ἀπὸ σταδίων τριῶν παρεστρατοπέδευεν. καὶ ὁ Σύλλας 4
 τὴν ὕβριν οὐκ ἐνεγκών, οὐδὲ τῶν ιδίῳ τοὺς χορτο-

4 δεκατεύοντες, 'they instituted ten fresh tribes for them to vote in after the others.' Velleius (ii. 20) says that the new citizens were confined to eight tribes, but says nothing about these being additional to the thirty-five. Most probably the Italians (like the freedmen, see Livy xlv. 15. 5) were enrolled in certain of the old tribes chosen by lot.

50. I Γναῖος Πομπήιος. We now enter on the year 89 B. C., the consulship of Cn. Pompeius Strabo and L. Porcius Cato. It is chiefly occupied with the suppression of the insurrection in central and southern Italy.

3 περὶ τὰ Πομπαιᾶ ὄρη. This probably means 'the mountains in the territory of Pompeii.' We know from Velleius ii. 16. 2 that Sulla besieged the town of Pompeii; see Schweigh. note.

- 5 λογούντας ἀναμείνας, ἐπέδραμε τῷ Κλοεντίῳ. καὶ τότε μὲν ἡττώμενος ἔφευγε, προσλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς χορτο-
 λογούντας τρέπεται τὸν Κλοέντιον. ὃ δ' αὐτίκα μὲν
 πορρωτέρω μετεστρατοπέδευεν, ἀφικομένων δ' αὐτῷ
 Γαλατῶν αὖθις ἐπλησίαζε τῷ Σύλλᾳ. καὶ συνιόντων
 τῶν στρατῶν Γαλάτης ἀνὴρ μεγέθει μέγας προδραμὼν
 προυκαλείτό τινα Ῥωμαίων ἐς μάχην. ὥς δ' αὐτὸν
 ὑποστὰς Μαυρούσιος ἀνὴρ βραχὺς ἔκτεινεν, ἐκπλαγέν-
 6 τες οἱ Γαλάται αὐτίκα ἔφευγον. παραλυθείσης δὲ τῆς
 τάξεως οὐδ' ὁ ἄλλος ὄμιλος ἔτι τοῦ Κλοεντίου παρ-
 ἔμενεν, ἀλλ' ἔφευγεν ἐς Νῶλαν ἀκόσμως. καὶ ὁ Σύλ-
 λας αὐτοῖς ἐπύμενος ἔκτεινεν ἐς τρισμυρίους ἐν τῷ
 δρόμῳ, καὶ τῶν Νωλαίων αὐτοὺς μιᾷ πύλῃ δεχομέ-
 νων ἵνα μὴ οἱ πολέμιοι σφίσι συνεσπέσοιεν, ἐτέρους
 ἔκτεινεν ἀμφὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐς δισμυρίους· καὶ σὺν
 τοῖσδε Κλοέντιος ἀγωνιζόμενος ἔπεσεν.
- 51 Σύλλας δ' ἐς ἔθνος ἕτερον Ἴρπίνους μετεστρατο-
 πέδευε, καὶ προσέβαλεν Αἰκουλάνῳ. οἱ δὲ Λευκανοὺς
 προσδοκῶντες αὐτῆς ἡμέρας σφίσιν ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν
 2 ἀφίξεσθαι, τὸν Σύλλαν καιρὸν ἐς σκέψιν ἦτουν. ὃ δ'
 αἰσθανόμενος τοῦ τεχνάσματος ὥραν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε,
 κὰν τῇδε ξυλίνῳ ὄντι τῷ τείχει κληματίδας περιτιθεῖς
 μετὰ τὴν ὥραν ὑφῆπτεν· οἱ δὲ δείσαντες τὴν πόλιν
 3 παρεδίδουν. καὶ τήνδε μὲν ὁ Σύλλας διήρπαζεν ὥς
 οὐκ εὐνοία προσελθοῦσαν ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, τῶν δ'
 ἄλλων ἐφείδετο προστιθεμένων, μέχρι τὸ Ἴρπίνων
 ἔθνος ἅπαν ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ Σαννίτας,
 οὐχ ἢ Μοτίλος ὁ τῶν Σαννιτῶν στρατηγὸς τὰς παρ-
 ὁδούς ἐφύλαττεν, ἀλλ' ἐτέραν ἀδόκητον ἐκ περιόδου.

6 ἐς Νῶλαν. Nola, some twelve miles north of Pompeii, had been captured by the Samnites (ch. 42. 1) and was held by them till the end of the war; see note on ch. 56. 4.

51. 1 Αἰκουλάνῳ, Aeclanum in southern Samnium. Velleius tells us that his great-grandfather was a citizen there, but took the side of Rome.

προσπεσὼν δ' ἄφνω πολλοὺς τε ἔκτεινε, καὶ τῶν ὑπο- 4
 λοίπων σποράδην διαφυγόντων ὁ μὲν Μοτίλος τραυ-
 ματίας ἐς Αἰσερνίαν σὺν ὀλίγοις κατέφυγεν, ὁ δὲ
 Σύλλας αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξελὼν ἐς Βουάνον
 παρῆλθεν, ἣ κοινοβούλιον ἦν τῶν ἀποστάντων. τρεῖς 5
 δ' ἄκρας τῆς πόλεως ἐχούσης, καὶ τῶν Βουάνων ἐς
 τὸν Σύλλαν ἐπεστραμμένων, περιπέμψας τινὰς ὁ Σύλ-
 λας ἐκέλευε καταλαβεῖν ἥν τινα τῶν ἄλλων δυνηθεῖεν
 ἄκραν, καὶ καπνῷ τοῦτο σημῆναι. γενομένου δὲ τοῦ 6
 καπνοῦ συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἐκ μετώπου, καὶ μαχόμενος
 ὥραις τρισὶ καρτερῶς, εἶλε τὴν πόλιν.

καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν τοῦδε τοῦ θέρους εὐπραγήματα 7
 Σύλλα· χειμῶνος δ' ἐπιόντος ὁ μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀνέστρε-
 φεν, ἐς ὑπατείαν παραγγέλλων· Γναῖος δὲ Πομπήιος 52
 ὑπηγάγετο Μάρσους καὶ Μαρρουκίους καὶ Οὐηστίνους,
 καὶ Γάιος Κοσκώνιος, ἕτερος Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός, ἐπελ-
 θὼν Σαλαπίαν τε ἐνέπρησε καὶ Κάννας παρέλαβε, καὶ
 Κανύσιον περικαθήμενος Σαννίταις ἐπελθοῦσιν ἀντ-
 εμάχετο ἐγκρατῶς, μέχρι φόνος πολὺς ἐκατέρων ἐγένετο
 καὶ ὁ Κοσκώνιος ἐλαττούμενος ἐς Κάννας ὑπεχώρει.

4 Βουάνον . . . ἣ κοινοβούλιον ἦν τῶν ἀποστάντων. Strabo (v. 4. 2) mentions Corfinium as the first capital of the insurgents and as receiving from them the name of 'Italia.' Diodorus (xxxvii. 2. 9) mentions Aesernia instead of Bovianum as the capital chosen after the abandonment of Corfinium. The two places are only about fifteen miles apart. Kiene points out that Bovianum was afterwards re-captured, as is seen from Iulius Obsequens de Prodigiiis, ch. 116, 'Pompeius Sylo [Pompaedius Silo] in oppidum Bovianum quod ceperat triumphans invectus, omen victoriae hostibus ostendit; quia triumphus in urbem victricem, non victam, induci solet. Proximo proelio, amisso exercitu, occisus.'

52. 1 Μάρσους, &c. All these are Sabellian tribes of central Italy northwards from Samnium, grouped round the town of Corfinium.

Salapia and Cannae are in Apulia, as also the peoples mentioned below, verse 3. The southern Asculum there mentioned is not to be confused with the more famous town of the same name in Picenum (chs. 38 and 48).

- 2 Τρεβάτιος δ' αὐτὸν ὁ τῶν Σαννιτῶν στρατηγός, ποταμοῦ διείργοντος, ἐκέλευεν ἢ περὰν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐς μάχην, ἢ ἀναχωρεῖν ἵνα περάσειεν. ὁ δ' ἀναχωρεῖ, καὶ διαβάντι τῷ Τρεβατίῳ προσπεσὼν μάχῃ τε κρείττων ἐγένετο, καὶ φεύγοντος ἐπὶ τὸ ρεῦμα αὐτοῦ μυρίου καὶ πεντακισχιλίους διέφθειρεν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μετὰ τοῦ
- 3 Τρεβατίου διέφυγον ἐς Κανύσιον. καὶ ὁ Κοσκώνιος τὴν Λαριναίων καὶ Οὔενουσίων καὶ Ἀσκλαίων ἐπιδραμὼν ἐς Ποιδίκλους ἐσέβαλε, καὶ δυσὶν ἡμέραις τὸ ἔθνος
- 53 παρέλαβεν. Καικίλιος δ' αὐτῷ Μέτελλος ἐπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν διάδοχος, ἐς Ἰάπυγας ἐμβالὼν ἐκράτει καὶ ὅδε μάχῃ τῶν Ἰαπύγων. καὶ Πομπαιδίου, ἄλλος τῶν ἀφεστώτων στρατηγός, ἐνταῦθα ἔπεσεν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ σποράδην ἐς τὸν Καικίλιον διέφυγον.
- 2 καὶ τὰδε μὲν ἦν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀμφὶ τὸν συμμαχικὸν πόλεμον, ἀκμάσαντα δὴ μάλιστα μέχρι τῶνδε, ἕως Ἰταλία πᾶσα προσεχώρησεν ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν, χωρὶς γε Λευκανῶν καὶ Σαννιτῶν τότε δοκοῦσι γάρ μοι καὶ οἶδε τυχεῖν ὧν ἔχρηζον ὕστερον.
- 3 ἐς δὲ τὰς φυλὰς ὅμοια τοῖς προτυχοῦσιν ἕκαστοι κατελέγοντο, τοῦ μὴ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἀναμεμιγμένοι ἐπικρατεῖν ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις, πλέονες ὄντες.
- 54 τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου κατὰ τὸ ἄστν οἱ χρησται πρὸς

53. 2 ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν. Those however who had fought and been conquered were not enfranchised but remained in the position of *dediticii* or surrendered enemies. Two years later, in 87 B. C., during the crisis of the struggle between Cinna and Octavius the senate granted them the citizenship, see note on ch. 66 5. The Lucanians and Samnites (here excepted) received the citizenship at the same time from Cinna, when the senate had in vain attempted to come to terms with them; see ch. 68.

3 ὅμοια τοῖς προτυχοῦσιν, 'quemadmodum ii qui paulo ante fuerant recepti' (Schweigh.).

chs. 54-63. Tribune of Sulpicius and seizure of Rome by Sulla.

54. 1 οἱ χρησται. If the text be sound the word must be used in a comprehensive sense to include both parties to a loan.

ἀλλήλους ἐστασίασαν, οἱ μὲν πράττοντες τὰ χρέα σὺν τόκοις, νόμου τινὸς παλαιοῦ διαγορεύοντος μὴ δανείζειν ἐπὶ τόκοις, ἢ ζημίαν τὸν οὕτω δανείσαντα προσοφλεῖν. ἀποστραφῆναι γάρ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι, καθάπερ Ἕλληνες, τὸ δανείζειν ὡς καπηλικὸν καὶ βαρὺ τοῖς πένησι καὶ δύσερι καὶ ἐχθροποιόν, ὃ λόγῳ καὶ Πέρσαι τὸ κίχρασθαι ὡς ἀπατηλὸν τε καὶ φιλοψευδές. ἔθους δὲ χρονίου τοὺς τόκους βεβαιούντος, οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ἦτουν, οἱ δὲ οἷον ἐκ πολέμων τε καὶ στάσεων ἀνεβάλλοντο τὰς ἀποδόσεις· εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ τὴν ζημίαν τοὺς δανείσαντας ἐκτίσειν ἐπηπείλουν. ὃ τε στρατηγὸς Ἀσελλίων, ὃ ταῦτα προσέκειτο, ἐπεὶ διαλύων αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἐδίδου κατ' ἀλλήλων αὐτοῖς δικαστήρια, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἔθους ἀπορίαν ἐς τοὺς δικαστὰς περιφέρων. οἱ δανεισταὶ δὲ χαλεπήναντες ὅτι τὸν νόμον παλαιὸν ὄντα ἀνεκαίνιζε, κτείνουσιν αὐτὸν ὥδε. ὁ μὲν ἔθνε τοῖς Διοσκούροις ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τοῦ πλήθους ὡς ἐπὶ θυσία περιστάντος· ἐνὸς δὲ λίθου τὸ πρῶτον ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀφεθέντος, ἔρριψε τὴν φιάλην καὶ ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱερὸν ἵετο δρόμῳ. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν προλαβόντες τε ἀπέκλεισαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ καταφυγόντα ἔς τι πανδοκεῖον ἔσφαζαν. πολλοὶ τε τῶν διωκόντων ἐς τὰς παρθένους αὐτὸν ἡγούμενοι καταφυγεῖν, ἐσέδραμον ἔνθα μὴ θέμις ἦν ἀνδράσιν. οὕτω μὲν καὶ Ἀσελλίων στρατηγῶν τε καὶ σπένδων, καὶ ἱερὰν καὶ ἐπὶ χρυσὸν ἐσθῆτα ὡς ἐν θυσία περικείμενος, ἀμφὶ δευτέραν ὥραν ἐσφάζετο ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέση παρὰ

2 τὸ κίχρασθαι, 'borrowing'; see Herod. i. 138. Appian seems rather to confuse the moral drawbacks attaching to the position of the borrower with the condemnation of usury exacted by the lender.

4 ἐδίδου δικαστήρια, i. e. granted a formula for the decision of a *iudex*, 'sent the case for trial.'

περιφέρων, 'shifting on to the jurors the difficulty of deciding between the law and the practice.'

- 8 *ἱεροῖς. καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος ἐκήρυσεν, εἴ τίς τι περὶ τὸν Ἀσελλίωνος φόνον ἐλέγξειεν, ἐλευθέρῳ μὲν ἀργύριον, δούλῳ δὲ ἐλευθερίαν, συνεγνωκότι δὲ ἄδειαν· οὐ μὴν ἐμήνυσεν οὐδεὶς, τῶν δανειστῶν περικαλυψάντων.*
- 55 *τάδε μὲν δὴ φόνοι καὶ στάσεις ἔτι ἦσαν ἐμφύλιοι κατὰ μέρη· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο στρατοῖς μεγάλοις οἱ στασί-
αρχοι πολέμου νόμῳ συνεπλέκοντο ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἡ πατρίς ἄθλον ἔκειτο ἐν μέσῳ. ἀρχὴ δ' ἐς ταῦτα καὶ πάροδος εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷ συμμαχικῷ πολέμῳ ἦδε ἐγίγνετο.*
- 2 *ἐπειδὴ Μιθριδάτης ὁ τοῦ Πόντου καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν βασιλεὺς ἐς Βιθυνίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν καὶ τὴν ὁμορον αὐταῖς Ἀσίαν ἐνέβαλεν, ὥς μοι κατὰ τὴν βίβλον εἴρη-
ται τὴν πρὸ τῆσδε, Σύλλας μὲν ὑπατεύων ἔλαχε στρα-
τηγεῖν τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ Μιθριδατείου πολέμου, καὶ ἦν ἔτι ἐν Ῥώμῃ, Μάριος δὲ τὸν πόλεμον εὐχερῇ
τε καὶ πολύχρυσον ἡγούμενος εἶναι, καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν τῆς στρατηγίας, ὑπηγάγετό οἱ συμπράσσειν ἐς τοῦτο Πόπλιον Σουλπίκιον δῆμαρχον ὑποσχέσεσι πολλαῖς·*

55. 1 *ἐπὶ τῷ συμμαχικῷ πολέμῳ, 'immediately after the Social War.'*

2 *Πόπλιον Σουλπίκιον.* The accounts of P. Sulpicius Rufus are meagre and inexplicable. *Cicero* (*Brutus* 55. 203) places him in the first rank of orators: 'Fuit Sulpicius vel maxime omnium, quos quidem ego audiverim, grandis et, ut ita dicam, tragicus orator.' He describes his lapse into demagogy in the following words: 'Sulpicium, ab optima causa profectum, Caioque Iulio consulatum contra leges petenti resistentem, longius quam voluit, popularis aura provexit' (*de Har. Resp.* 20. 43). The *Auctor ad Herennium* (ii. 28), says: 'Sulpicius qui intercessit ne exsules quibus causam dicere non licuisset reducerentur, idem posterius immutata voluntate cum eandem legem ferret, aliam se ferre dicebat propter nominum commutationem; nam non exsules sed vi eiectos se reducere aiebat.' This seems to point to persons who had fled from the Varian commission of 90 B. C.

The Epitomator of *Livy* tells us that not only the 'new citizens' here mentioned, but the freedmen were to be distributed through all the tribes. *Plutarch* (*Sulla* 8) adds a law: 'μηδένα συγκλητικὸν ὑπὲρ δισχιλίας δραχμὰς ὀφείλειν.' He says that Sulpicius openly sold the citizenship for money, and that he

καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας νεοπολίτας, μειονεκτοῦντας 3
ἐπὶ ταῖς χειροτονίαις, ἐπὶ ἡλπιζεν εἰς τὰς φυλάς ἀπάσας
διαιρήσειν, οὐ προλέγων μὲν τι περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ χρείας,
ὥς δὲ ὑπηρεταῖς εἰς πάντα χρησόμενος εὖνοις. καὶ νό- 4
μον αὐτίκα ὁ Σουλπίκιος ἐσέφερε περὶ τοῦδε· οὐ κυρω-
θέντος ἔμελλε πᾶν ὅτι βούλοιτο Μάριος ἢ Σουλπίκιος
ἔσσεσθαι, τῶν νεοπολιτῶν πολὺν παρὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους
πλειόνων ὄντων. οἱ δ' ἀρχαιότεροι συνορῶντες ταῦτα,
ἐγκρατῶς τοῖς νεοπολίταις διεφέροντο. ξύλοις δὲ καὶ 5
λίθοις χρωμένων αὐτῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους, καὶ μείζονος αἰ-
γιγνομένου τοῦ κακοῦ, δείσαντες οἱ ὕπατοι περὶ τῇ δοκι-
μασίᾳ τοῦ νόμου πλησιαζούσῃ προὔγραψαν ἡμερῶν
ἀργίας πολλῶν, ὅποῖον ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς εἴωθε γίγνε-
σθαι, ἵνα τις ἀναβολὴ γένοιτο τῆς χειροτονίας καὶ τοῦ
κακοῦ. Σουλπίκιος δὲ τὴν ἀργίαν οὐκ ἀναμένων, ἐκέ- 56
λευε τοῖς στασιώταις εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἥκειν μετὰ κεκρυμ-
μένων ξιφιδίων, καὶ δρᾶν ὅτι ἐπείγοι, μὴδ' αὐτῶν
φειδομένους τῶν ὑπάτων, εἰ δέοι. ὥς δὲ αὐτῷ πάντα 2
ἔτοιμα ἦν, κατηγόρει τῶν ἀργιῶν ὥς παρανόμων, καὶ
τοὺς ὑπάτους Κορνήλιον Σύλλαν καὶ Κόιντον Πομ-
πήιον ἐκέλευεν αὐτὰς αὐτίκα ἀναιρεῖν, ἵνα προθείη
τὴν δοκιμασίαν τῶν νόμων. θορύβου δ' ἀναστάντος 3
οἱ παρεσκευασμένοι τὰ ξιφίδια ἐπεσπάσαντο καὶ τοὺς
ὑπάτους ἀντιλέγοντας ἠπέλουν κτενεῖν, μέχρι Πομ-
πήιος μὲν λαθὼν διέφυγε, Σύλλας δ' ὥς βουλευσό-

ἔτρεφε τρισχιλίους μαχαιοφόρους καὶ πλῆθος ἵππικῶν νεανίσκων πρὸς
ἅπαν ἑτοιμῶν περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν οὓς ἀντισύγκλητον ἀνόμαζεν. This is
all we know to supplement Appian's meagre account. Plutarch
(l. c.) calls Sulpicius the greatest villain ever born. Cicero
invariably speaks of him with regard, and introduces him as one
of the worthy group of personages of his dialogue 'De Oratore.'
Nothing beyond a bare outline of the story is to be gathered
from Appian. Notwithstanding the efforts of Kiene (see on ch. 63.
3), the character and policy of the man must be left as a hope-
less puzzle.

5 ἀργίας, 'proclaimed a suspension of business (*iustitium*) of
many days' duration.'

μενος ὑπεχώρει. καὶ τῷδε Πομπηίου τὸν υἱόν, κη-
 δεύοντα τῷ Σύλλα, παρρησιαζόμενόν τι καὶ λέγοντα
 4 κτείνουσιν οἱ τοῦ Σουλπικίου στασιῶται. καὶ ὁ Σύλ-
 λας ἐπελθὼν ἐβάστασε τὴν ἀργίαν, ἔς τε Καπύην ἐπὶ
 τὸν ἐκεῖ στρατόν, ὡς ἐκ Καπύης ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ
 τὸν Μιθριδάτου πόλεμον διαβαλὼν, ἡπείγετο· οὐ γάρ
 5 πῶ τινος τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πραττομένων ἥσθετο. ὁ δὲ
 Σουλπίκιος, ἀναιρεθείσης τῆς ἀργίας καὶ Σύλλα τῆς
 πόλεως ἀποστάντος, ἐκύρου τὸν νόμον, καὶ οὐ χάριν
 ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, Μάριον εὐθὺς ἐχειροτόνει τοῦ
 πρὸς Μιθριδάτην πολέμου στρατηγεῖν ἀντὶ Σύλλα.
 57 πυθόμενος δ' ὁ Σύλλας, καὶ πολέμῳ κρίνας διακρι-
 θῆναι, συνήγαγε τὸν στρατόν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τόνδε
 τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην στρατείας ὀρεγόμενόν τε ὡς
 ἐπικερδοῦς, καὶ νομίζοντα Μάριον ἐς αὐτὴν ἐτέρους
 2 καταλέξειν ἀνθ' ἑαυτῶν. τὴν δ' ὕβριν ὁ Σύλλας τὴν
 ἐς αὐτὸν εἰπὼν Σουλπικίου τε καὶ Μαρίου, καὶ σαφές
 οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐπενεγκών (οὐ γὰρ ἐτόλμα πῶ λέγειν περὶ
 τοιοῦδε πολέμου), παρήνεσεν ἐτοίμοις ἐς τὸ παρ-
 3 αγγελλόμενον εἶναι. οἱ δὲ συνιέντες τε ὧν ἐπενόει, καὶ
 περὶ σφῶν δεδιότες μὴ τῆς στρατείας ἀποτύχοιεν, ἀπ-
 εγύμνουσαν αὐτοὶ τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ Σύλλα, καὶ ἐς Ῥώ-
 4 μην σφᾶς ἄγειν θαρροῦντα ἐκέλευον. ὁ δὲ ἡσθεὶς
 ἤγεν ἕξ τέλη στρατιωτῶν αὐτίκα. καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν
 ἄρχοντες τοῦ στρατοῦ, χωρὶς ἐνὸς ταμίου, διέδρασαν
 ἐς Ῥώμην, οὐχ ὑφιστάμενοι στρατόν ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν
 πατρίδα· πρέσβεις δ' ἐν ὁδῷ καταλαβόντες ἡρώτων,
 τί μεθ' ὅπλων ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐλαύνοι. ὁ δ' εἶπεν,
 5 ἐλευθερώσωσαν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τυραννούντων. καὶ τοῦτο

56. 4 ἐβάστασε, 'declared the *iustitium* at an end.'

ἔς τε Καπύην. Velleius (ii. 18. 4) says that he went to Nola :
 'quippe ea urbs pertinacissime arma retinebat exercituque
 Romano obsidebatur.'

57. 3 ἀπεγύμνου', 'uttered openly what was the covert intention
 of Sulla.'

δις καὶ τρις ἑτέροις καὶ ἑτέροις πρέσβεσιν ἐλθοῦσιν
 εἰπὼν ἐπήγγελλεν ὅμως, εἰ θέλοιεν τήν τε σύγκλητον
 αὐτῷ καὶ Μάριον καὶ Σουλπίκιον εἰς τὸ Ἄρειον πεδῖον
 συναγαγεῖν, [καὶ] πράξειν ὃ τι ἂν βουλευομένοις δοκῇ.
 πλησιάζοντι δὲ Πομπήιος μὲν ὁ σύναρχος ἐπαινῶν 6
 καὶ ἀρεσκόμενος τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἀφίκετο, συμπράξων
 εἰς ἅπαντα, Μάριος δὲ καὶ Σουλπίκιος εἰς παρασκευὴν
 ὀλίγου διαστήματος δεόμενοι πρέσβεις ἑτέρους ἔπεμ-
 πον ὡς δὴ καὶ τούσδε ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπεσταλμένους,
 δεόμενοι μὴ ἀγχοτέρω τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων τῇ Ῥώμῃ
 παραστρατοπεδεύειν, μέχρι ἐπισκέψαιντο περὶ τῶν παρ-
 ὄντων. Σύλλας δὲ καὶ Πομπήιος τὸ ἐνθύμημα σα- 7
 φῶς εἰδότες ὑπέσχοντο μὲν ὥδε πράξειν, εὐθὺς δὲ τοῖς
 πρέσβεσιν ἀπιούσιν εἶποντο. καὶ Σύλλας μὲν τὰς Αἰσκυ- 58
 λείας πύλας καὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτὰς τείχος ἐνὶ τέλει στρατιω-
 τῶν κατελάμβανε, Πομπήιος δὲ τὰς Κολλίνας ἑτέρῳ
 τέλει· καὶ τρίτον ἐπὶ τὴν ξυλίνην γέφυραν ἐχώρει, καὶ
 τέταρτον πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν εἰς διαδοχὴν ὑπέμενεν. τοῖς 2
 δ' ὑπολοίποις ὁ Σύλλας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐχώρει δόξῃ καὶ
 ἔργῳ πολεμίου. ὅθεν αὐτὸν οἱ περιιοκούντες ἄνωθεν
 ἡμύνοντο βάλλοντες, μέχρι τὰς οἰκίας ἠπείλησεν ἐμ-
 πρήσειν· τότε δ' οἱ μὲν ἀνέσχον, Μάριος δὲ καὶ Σουλ-
 πίκιος ἀπὴντων περὶ τὴν Αἰσκύλειον ἀγορὰν μεθ' ὅσων
 ἐφθάκεσαν ὀπλίσαι. καὶ γίγνεται τις ἀγὼν ἐχθρῶν, ὃδε 3
 πρῶτος ἐν Ῥώμῃ, οὐχ ὑπὸ εἰκόνι στάσεως ἔτι, ἀλλ'
 ἀπροφασίστως ὑπὸ σάλπιγγι καὶ σημείοις, πολέμου
 νόμῳ· εἰς τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς κακοῦ τὰ τῶν στάσεων ἀμε-
 ληθέντα προέκοψεν. τρεπομένων δὲ τῶν Σύλλα στρα- 4
 τιωτῶν, ὁ Σύλλας σημείον ἀρπάσας προεκινδύνευσεν,
 ὡς αἰδοῖ τε τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ δέει τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ σημείῳ,
 εἰ ἀπέχοντο, ἀτιμίας εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς αὐτοὺς με-
 τατίθεσθαι. καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἐκάλει τε τοὺς νεαλεῖς ἐκ 5

58. 1 ἐνὶ τέλει, 'with one legion.'

2 ἀνέσχον, 'desisted.'

τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ ἐτέρους κατὰ τὴν καλουμένην
 Σιβούραν ὁδὸν περιέπεμπεν, ἥ κατὰ νώτου τῶν πολε-
 6 μίων ἔμελλον ἔσεσθαι περιδραμόντες. οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν
 Μάριον πρὸς τε τοὺς ἐπελθόντας ἀκμῆτας ἀσθενῶς
 μαχόμενοι, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς περιοδεύουσιν δείσαντες περι-
 κύκλωσιν, τοὺς τε ἄλλους πολίτας ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἔτι
 7 ἐλευθερίαν εἰ μετὰσχοιεν τοῦ πόνου. οὐδενὸς δὲ προσ-
 ιόντος, ἀπογνόντες ἀπάντων ἔφευγον εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς
 πόλεως, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ὅσοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν συνεπεπρά-
 59 χεσαν. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας τότε μὲν ἐς τὴν λεγομένην ἱερὰν
 ὁδὸν παρῆλθε, καὶ τοὺς διαρπάζοντάς τι τῶν ἐν ποσὶν
 ἀντίκα ἐν μέσῳ πάντων ἐφορώντων ἐκόλαζε, φρουρὰν δὲ
 κατὰ μέρος ἐπιστήσας τῇ πόλει διενυκτέρευεν αὐτός τε
 καὶ ὁ Πομπήσιος, περιθέοντες ἐκάστους, ἵνα μὴ τι δει-
 νὸν ἢ παρὰ τῶν δεδιότων ἢ παρὰ τῶν νενικηκότων ἐπι-
 2 γένοιτο. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα τὸν δῆμον ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συν-
 αγαγόντες ὠδύροντο περὶ τῆς πολιτείας ὡς ἐκ πολλοῦ
 τοῖς δημοκοποῦσιν ἐκδεδομένης, καὶ αὐτοὶ τάδε πρά-
 3 ξαντες ὑπ' ἀνάγκης. ἐσηγοῦντό τε μηδὲν ἔτι ἀπροβού-

6 ἀκμῆτας, 'fighting feebly against the fresh reinforcements advancing on them, and fearing lest they should be surrounded by a flank movement.'

59. The cancelling of the Sulpician Laws (verse 6) undoubtedly belongs to this year (88 B.C.), but it is doubtful whether the other measures here ascribed by Appian to Sulla should not be put seven years later, after his return from the east. Livy (*Epit.* 89) places the most important of them under the year 81 B.C.: 'Tribunorum plebis potestatem minuit et omne ius legum ferundarum ademit.'

3 μηδὲν ἔτι ἀπροβούλευτον ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσφέρεισθαι. The general word δῆμος ought to convey the meaning that no magistraté, whether consul, praetor, or tribune, could propose any measure, whether to the *populus* or the *plebs*, without the previous consent of the senate. There is, however, no trace in the years following Sulla's restoration of any such legal limitations on the consuls or praetors, and when Pompey (in 70 B.C.) reversed Sulla's ordinance, his action is invariably described as the 'restoration of the tribunician power' (e.g. Cicero Verr. Act. i.

λευτον ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσφέρεσθαι, νενομισμένον μὲν οὕτω καὶ πάλαι, παραλελυμένον δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ, καὶ τὰς 4 χειροτονίας μὴ κατὰ φυλὰς ἀλλὰ κατὰ λόχους, ὡς Τύλ-

15 ; de Leg. iii. 9. 22 and II. 26). Appian should have written τὸ πλῆθος (the *plebs*) for τὸν δῆμον, thus making the restriction apply only to the tribune as a magistrate of the *plebs*.

νενομισμένον μὲν οὕτω καὶ πάλαι. Mommsen (*Röm. Forsch.* i. 211) quotes this passage as evidence for his theory that, previous to the Hortensian Law of 287 B.C., the tribunes were legally debarred from proposing to the *plebs* any measure binding on the whole state unless they had the previous consent of the senate. I believe that πάλαι does not mean two centuries before, and that the word νενομισμένον does not refer to any legal disability, but only to the constitutional usage enforced by the veto of a colleague alike on consuls and tribunes throughout the middle period of the Republic. I think that παραλελυμένον ἐκ πολλοῦ means that since the tribunate of Tib. Gracchus, forty-five years ago, this constitutional machinery had got out of gear. Sulla now replaced it, so far as the tribunes were concerned, by a definite legal enactment, leaving the consuls without other restriction than the old constitutional checks ; see *English Historical Review*, April 1886, p. 213.

4 μὴ κατὰ φυλὰς, &c. As it stands, this should mean that all magistrates were to be elected in the *comitia centuriata*. This would be certainly untrue. Not only did the *plebs* assembled by tribes elect their tribunes, after Sulla as before, but the lesser magistrates of the Roman people (curule aediles and quaestors) were elected by the *comitia populi tributa* ; see Cicero ad Fam. vii. 30.

The following words ὡς Τύλλιος βασιλεὺς ἔταξε have led to the supposition that what Appian really meant was not that Sulla suppressed the *comitia tributa*, but that he took out of the *comitia centuriata* the division according to tribes which certainly existed during the Second Punic War (Livy xxvi. 22) and in Livy's own time (i. 43. 12), and that he reverted to the earlier organization by which the centuries were arranged by class and age only. But there is nothing to confirm this, and in Cicero certainly the tribe appears throughout as the unit of electoral influence and corruption (see ad Att. ii. i. 9, Mur. 34. 72).

A third supposition reduces Sulla's change to still more narrow limits. The Pseudo-Sallust, a writer probably of the second century A. D., has the following (ad Caes. de Rep. ii. 8) : 'sed magistratibus creandis haud mihi quidem absurde placet lex quam C. Gracchus in tribunatu promulgaverat, ut ex confusis quinque classibus sorte centuriae vocarentur ; ita coaequatur dignitati pecunia,' &c. The interpretation suggested is that under the reformed constitution of the *comitia centuriata* each of the

λιος βασιλεὺς ἔταξε, γίγνεσθαι, νομίσαντες διὰ δυοῖν
 τοῖνδε οὔτε νόμον οὐδένα πρὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐς τὸ πλήθος
 ἐσφερόμενον, οὔτε τὰς χειροτονίας ἐν τοῖς πένησι καὶ
 θρασυτάτοις ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν περιουσίᾳ καὶ εὐβουλίᾳ γιγνο-
 5 μένας, δώσειν ἔτι στάσεων ἀφορμάς. πολλά τε ἄλλα
 τῆς τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχῆς, τυραννικῆς μάλιστα γεγενη-
 μένης, περιελόντες, κατέλεξαν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὀλιγ-
 ανθρωπότατον δὴ τότε μάλιστα ὃν καὶ παρὰ τοῦτ'
 εὐκαταφρόνητον, ἀθρόους ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν
 6 τριακοσίους. ὅσα τε ὑπὸ Σουλπικίου ἐκεκύρωτο μετὰ
 τὴν κεκηνυγμένην ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀργίαν, ἅπαντα
 διελύετο ὡς οὐκ ἔννομα.

80 ὧδε μὲν αἱ στάσεις ἐξ ἔριδος καὶ φιλονεικίας ἐπὶ
 φόνους καὶ ἐκ φόνων ἐς πολέμους ἐντελεῖς προέκοπτον,
 καὶ στρατὸς πολιτῶν ὅδε πρῶτος ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ὡς
 2 πολεμίαν ἐσέβαλεν. οὐδ' ἔληξαν ἀπὸ τοῦδε αἱ στάσεις
 ἔτι κρινόμεναι στρατοπέδοις, ἀλλ' ἐσβολαὶ συνεχεῖς ἐς
 τὴν Ῥώμην ἐγίγνοντο καὶ τειχομαχίαι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα
 πολέμων ἔργα, οὐδενὸς ἔτι ἐς αἰδῶ τοῖς βιαζομένοις
 ἐμποδῶν ὄντος, ἢ νόμων ἢ πολιτείας ἢ πατρίδος.
 3 τότε δὲ Σουλπικίον δημαρχοῦντα ἔτι, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ
 Μάριον ἐξάκις ὑπατευκότα, καὶ τὸν Μαρίου παῖδα

thirty-five tribes had ten centuries of infantry, a senior and a junior for each of the five classes, and that the *centuria praerogativa* was at first drawn among the 70 centuries of the first class. Caius Gracchus provided that it should be drawn from among the whole of the 350 centuries, and Sulla now reverted to the older arrangement (Mommson, *Roman Hist.*, Book iv, ch. 3). This, as adding importance to the distinction of wealth which king Servius instituted, is supposed to justify Appian's reference to him.

It is obvious that Appian has only a very confused idea of the measure which he attempts to describe, and I doubt whether any one of the solutions proposed can be accepted as satisfactory.

60. 2 τοῖς βιαζομένοις, 'homines violentos cohiberet a facinore' (Schweigh.). The middle is used in an active sense as in ch. 62. 3.

καὶ Πόπλιον Κέθηγον καὶ Ἰούνιον Βρούτον, καὶ Γναῖον καὶ Κόιντον Γράνιον, καὶ Πόπλιον Ἀλβινοουανὸν καὶ Μάρκον Λαιτώριον, ἐτέρους τε ὅσοι μετ' αὐτῶν, ἐς δώδεκα μάλιστα, ἐκ Ῥώμης διεπεφεύγεσαν, ὡς στάσιν ἐγείραντας καὶ πολεμήσαντας ὑπάτοις, καὶ δούλοις κηρύξαντας ἐλευθερίαν ἐς ἀπόστασιν, πολεμίους Ῥωμαίων ἐψήφιστο εἶναι, καὶ τὸν ἐντυχόντα νηποινὶ κτείνειν ἢ ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους· τὰ τε ὄντα αὐτοῖς ἐδεδήμευτο. καὶ ζητητὰ διέθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας· οἱ Σουλπίκιον μὲν καταλαβόντες ἔκτειναν, ὁ δὲ Μάριος αὐτοὺς 61 ἐς Μιντούρνας διέφυγεν, ἔρημος ὑπηρετοῦ τε καὶ θεράποντος. καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ τῆς πόλεως ἄρχοντες, ἀναπαύομενον ἐν οἴκῳ ζοφώδει, δεδιότες μὲν τὸ κήρυγμα τοῦ δήμου, φυλαττόμενοι δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἐξάκις ὑπατεύσαντος καὶ πολλὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ εἰργασμένου αὐθένται γενέσθαι, Γαλάτην ἄνδρα ἐπιδημοῦντα μετὰ ξίφους ἐσέπεμψαν ἀνελεῖν. τὸν δὲ Γαλάτην φασὶν ἐν τῷ σκότῳ 3 προσιόντα τῷ στιβαδίῳ δεῖσαι, δόξαντα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ Μαρίου πυρὸς αὐγὴν καὶ φλόγα ἀφίεναι. ὡς δὲ καὶ ὁ Μάριος αὐτὸς ὑπανιστάμενος ἐκ τῆς εὐνῆς ἐνεβόησε παμμέγεθες αὐτῷ 'σὺ τολμᾷς κτείνειν Γάιον Μάριον;' προτροπάδην ὁ Γαλάτης ἔφευγεν ἔξω διὰ θυρῶν, μεμνηνότες εἰκῶς καὶ βοῶν 'οὐ δύναμαι κτείνειν Γάιον Μάριον.' ὅθεν καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἅτε καὶ 4 τέως ταῦτα σὺν ὅκῳ κεκρικόσιν, ἐνέπιπτε τι δαιμόνιον δέος καὶ μνήμη τῆς ἐκ παιδὸς ἐπιφημισθείσης τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐβδόμης ὑπατείας· παιδὶ γὰρ ὄντι φασὶν ἐς τὸν κόλπον

61. 2 ἐν οἴκῳ ζοφώδει. By a 'dark house' Appian apparently means a cottage where Marius had taken refuge, not a dungeon. Plutarch (Marius 38 and 39) agrees. If so, ἐπιδημοῦντα ('who happened to be sojourning there') need not be changed into δήμιον (the executioner) as Velleius' version of the story (ii. 19. 3) demands, 'servus publicus, natione Germanus, qui forte ab imperatore eo bello Cimbrico captus erat'; this version, which lays the scene in a prison, was the popular one and was adopted by Lucan and Juvenal.

- ἀετοῦ νεοττοῦς ἐπὶ τὰ καταρρυῆναι, καὶ τοὺς μάντεις
62 εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἐπτάκις ἐπὶ τῆς μεγίστης ἀρχῆς ἔσοιτο. ταῦτ'
 οὖν οἱ τῆς Μιντούρνης ἄρχοντες ἐνθυμούμενοι, καὶ
 τὸν Γαλάτην ἐνθουν κατὰ δαίμονα καὶ περιδεᾶ νομί-
 ζοντες γεγονέναι, τὸν Μάριον αὐτίκα τῆς πόλεως ἐξ-
² ἐπέμπον ὅπῃ δύναίτο σώζεσθαι. ὃ δὲ συγγιγνώσκων
 ἑαυτῷ ζητουμένῳ τε ἐκ Σύλλα καὶ πρὸς ἱππέων δι-
 ωκομένῳ, ὁδοὺς ἀτριβεῖς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἤλατο, καὶ καλύ-
 βης ἐπιτυχὼν ἀνεπαύετο, φυλλάδα ἐπιβαλόμενος τῷ
³ σώματι. ψόφου δ' αἰσθόμενος ἐς τὴν φυλλάδα ὑπ-
 εκρύφθη, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι αἰσθόμενος ἐς σκάφος ἀλιέως
 πρεσβύτου παρορμοῦν, βιασάμενος τὸν πρεσβύτην, ἐσ-
 ἤλατο χειμῶνος ὄντος, καὶ τὸ πείσμα κόψας καὶ τὸ
⁴ ἰστίον πετάσας ἐπέτρεψε τῇ τύχῃ φέρειν. κατήχθη δὲ
 ἐς τινα νῆσον, ὅθεν νεὼς οἰκείων ἀνδρῶν παραπλευού-
 σης ἐπιτυχὼν ἐς Λιβύην ἐπέρα. εἰργόμενος δὲ καὶ
 Λιβύης ὡς πολέμιος ὑπὸ Σεξτιλίου ἡγουμένου, διεχεί-
 μαζεν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, μικρὸν ὑπὲρ Λιβύην ἄνω ἐν
⁵ τοῖς Νομάδων ὄροις. καὶ αὐτῷ θαλασσεύοντι δεῦρο
 κατὰ πύστιν ἐπέπλευσαν τῶν συγκατεγνωσμένων Κέθη-
 γός τε καὶ Γράνιος καὶ Ἀλβινοουανὸς καὶ Λαιτώριος
 καὶ ἕτεροι, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίου· οἱ ἐς μὲν Ἰεμ-
 ψάλαν τὸν Νομάδων δυνάστην ἀπὸ Ῥώμης διέφυγον,
 ὑποψία δ' ἐκδόσεως ἐκείθεν ἀπέδρασαν.
⁶ οἱ μὲν δὴ, καθὰ καὶ Σύλλας ἐπεπράχει, βιάσασθαι
 τὴν πατρίδα διανοούμενοι, στρατιὰν δ' οὐκ ἔχοντες,
63 περιέβλεπον εἴ τι συμβαίῃ· ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ Σύλλας μὲν,
 ὅπλοις τὴν πόλιν ὅδε πρῶτος καταλαβὼν τε καὶ δυνη-
 θεὶς ἂν ἴσως ἤδη μοναρχεῖν, ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμύ-
 νατο, τὴν βίαν ἐκὼν ἀπέθετο, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς
² Καπύην προπέμψας αὐθις ἤρχεν ὡς ὕπατος· οἱ δὲ τῶν
 ἐξελαθέντων στασιῶται, ὅσοι τῶν πλουσίων, καὶ γύ-
 ναια πολλὰ πολυχρήματα, τοῦ δέους τῶν ὅπλων ἀνα-

πνεύσαντες ἡρεθίζοντο ὑπὲρ καθόδου τῶνδε τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ οὐδὲν σπουδῆς ἢ δαπάνης ἐς τοῦτο ἀπέλειπον, ἐπιβουλευόντες καὶ τοῖς τῶν ὑπάτων σώμασιν ὥς οὐκ ἐνὸν τῶνδε περιόντων ἐκείνοις κατελθεῖν. Σύλλα μὲν 3 δὴ καὶ παυσαμένῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς στρατὸς ἦν, ὁ ἐψηφισμένος ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην, ἐς σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ φύλαξ. Κόιντον δὲ Πομπήιον, τὸν ἕτερον ὕπατον, ὁ δῆμος οἰκτείρων τοῦ δέους ἐψηφίσατο ἄρχειν Ἰταλίας καὶ ἐτέρου τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν στρατοῦ, τότε ὄντος ὑπὸ Γναίῳ Πομπηίῳ. τοῦθ' ὁ Γναῖος πυθόμενός τε καὶ δυσχεράνας 4 ἦκοντα μὲν τὸν Κόιντον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσεδέξατο, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης τι χρηματίζοντος ὑπεχώρησε μικρὸν οἶα ἰδιώτης, μέχρι τὸν ὕπατον πολλοὶ καθ' ὑπόκρισιν ἀκροάσεως περιστάντες ἔκτειναν. καὶ φυγῆς τῶν λοι- 5 πῶν γενομένης ὁ Γναῖος αὐτοῖς ὑπήντα, χαλεπαίνων

63. 2 ἡρεθίζοντο, 'the partisans of the exiles were agitated with desire to restore them.'

3 τότε ὄντος ὑπὸ Γναίῳ Πομπηίῳ. The fortunes of Cn. Pompeius Strabo during these years have been discussed by Kiene (*Bundesgenossenkrieg*, pp. 260-265). We find (1) in a fragment of Cicero Pro Cornelio: 'memoria teneo cum primum senatores cum equitibus Romanis lege Plotia iudicarent, hominem dis ac nobilitati perinvisum Cn. Pompeium causam lege Varia de maiestate dixisse'; (2) in Aulus Gellius x. 20: 'Sallustius quoque . . . privilegium quod de Cn. Pompeii reditu ferebatur, legem appellavit: verba ex secunda eius historia haec sunt: nam Sullam consulem de reditu eius legem ferentem ex composito tribunus plebis C. Herennius prohibuerat'; (3) in an obscure passage of Plutarch (Sulla 8. 4): τὸν Πομπήιον ἐπαρχοντα παύσας (or ποιήσας) ὁ Σουλπίκιος, &c.

I am inclined to believe that Strabo, who was in Rome for his triumph in the last days of 89 B. C. (see note on ch. 46. 3), was put on his trial the moment his consulship expired, i. e. in Jan. 88 B. C., that he was acquitted and re-appointed to command the army of the north as proconsul. I do not think that we have enough evidence to interpret the passages quoted from Sallust and Plutarch. Kiene (who thinks that Strabo was convicted) has an elaborate explanation based on his conjectures regarding the connexion between Strabo and Sulpicius, but he does not seem to me to prove his point.

ὡς ὑπάτου παρανόμως ἀνηρημένου· δυσχεράνας δ'
 64 ὅμως εὐθύς ἤρχεν αὐτῶν. ἐξαγγελθέντος δ' ἐς τὴν
 πόλιν τοῦ Πομπηίου φόνου, αὐτίκα μὲν ὁ Σύλλας περι-
 δεῆς ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ γενόμενος τοὺς φίλους περιήγετο
 πανταχοῦ καὶ νυκτὸς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶχεν, οὐ πολὺ δ'
 ἐπιμείνας ἐς Καπύην ἐπὶ τὸν στρατὸν κακείθεν ἐς τὴν
 2 Ἀσίαν ἐξήλασεν. οἱ δὲ τῶν φυγάδων φίλοι Κίinna τῷ
 μετὰ Σύλλαν ὑπατεύοντι θαρροῦντες, τοὺς νεοπολίτας
 ἠρέθιζον ἐς τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ Μαρίου, ταῖς φυλαῖς
 ἀξιοῦν ἀναμιχθῆναι, ἵνα μὴ τελευταῖοι ψηφίζόμενοι
 πάντων ὥσιν ἄκυροι. τοῦτο δὴ προοίμιον τῆς αὐτοῦ
 3 τε Μαρίου καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν ἄνδρα καθόδου· ἀνθ-
 ισταμένων δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων κατὰ κράτος, Κίnnas μὲν
 τοῖς νεοπολίταις συνέπραττε, νομιζόμενος ἐπὶ τῷδε
 τριακόσια δωροδοκῆσαι τάλαντα, τοῖς δ' ἀρχαίοις ὁ
 4 ἕτερος ὑπάτος Ὀκτάουιος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κίnnαν
 προλαβόντες τὴν ἀγορὰν μετὰ κεκρυμμένων ξιφιδίων,
 ἐβόων ἐς τὰς φυλὰς πάσας ἀναμιγῆναι· τὸ δὲ καθαρώ-
 τερον πλῆθος ἐς τὸν Ὀκτάουιον ἐχώρει, καὶ οἶδε μετὰ
 5 ξιφιδίων. ἔτι δ' αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν τὸ μέλλον περι-
 ορωμένῳ ἐξαγγέλλεται τοὺς πλέονας δημάρχους κωλύειν
 τὰ γιγνόμενα, θόρυβον δὲ τῶν νεοπολιτῶν εἶναι καὶ
 ἀπογύμνωσιν ἤδη τῶν ξιφιδίων περὶ ὁδὸν ἐς τοὺς ἀντι-
 6 λέγοντας δημάρχους ἀναπηδόντων ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμβολα. ὧν
 Ὀκτάουιος πυθόμενος κατέβαινε διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ
 μετὰ πυκνοῦ πάνυ πλῆθους, καὶ οἷα χειμάρρους ἐς τὴν
 ἀγορὰν ἐμπεσῶν ὥσατο μὲν διὰ μέσων τῶν συνεστῶ-

chs. 64-96. Return of Marius and Civil War of Sulla and the Marians.

64. We here pass to the year 87 B.C., the consulship of Octavius and Cinna.

1 περιήγετο, 'stipatus amicis incedebat' (Schweigh.).

2 ἐς τὸ ἐνθύμημα . . . (cf. ch. 57. 3) 'stirred up the new citizens to demand that the scheme of Marius should be carried out, and that they should be distributed among the tribes.'

5 ἀναπηδόντων. The genitive plural refers back to νεοπολιτῶν.

των καὶ διέστησεν αὐτούς, ὥς δὲ κατέπληξεν, ἐς τὸ
 τῶν Διοσκούρων ἱερὸν παρήλθε, τὸν Κίνναν ἐκτρεπό-
 μενος. ὅσοι δ' αὐτῷ συνῆσαν, χωρὶς ἐπαγγέλματος 7
 ἔμπεσόντες τοῖς νεοπολίταις ἔκτεινάν τε πολλούς, καὶ
 ἑτέρους φεύγοντας ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐδίωκον. Κίννας δὲ 65
 θαρρήσας μὲν τῷ πλήθει τῶν νεοπολιτῶν καὶ βιάσε-
 σθαι προσδοκήσας, παρὰ δόξαν δ' ὁρῶν τὸ τόλμημα
 τῶν ὀλιγωτέρων ἐπικρατοῦν, ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔθει τοὺς
 θεράποντας ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ συγκαλῶν. οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτῷ 2
 προσιόντος, ἐξέδραμεν ἐς τὰς ἀγχοῦ πόλεις τὰς οὐ πρὸ
 πολλοῦ πολίτιδας Ῥωμαίων γενομένας, Τίβυρτόν τε
 καὶ Πραινεστόν καὶ ὅσαι μέχρι Νώλης, ἐρεθίζων ἅπαν-
 τας ἐς ἀπόστασιν, καὶ χρήματα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον συλ-
 λέγων. ταῦτα δ' ἐργαζομένῳ τε καὶ ἐπινοοῦντι τῷ Κίννα 3
 προσέφυγον ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς οἱ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐφρόνουν, Γάιος
 τε Μιλώνιος καὶ Κόιντος Σερτώριος καὶ Γάιος Μάριος
 ἕτερος· ἡ μὲν δὴ βουλή τὸν Κίνναν, ὥς ἐν κινδύνῳ 4
 τε τὴν πόλιν καταλιπόντα ὕπατον καὶ δούλοις ἐλευ-
 θερίαν κηρύξαντα, ἐψηφίσατο μήτε ὕπατον μήτε πολί-
 την ἔτι εἶναι, καὶ Λεύκιον Μερόλαν ἑχειροτόνησαν ἀντ'
 αὐτοῦ, τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Διός. λέγεται δ' οὗτος ὁ ἱερεὺς
 φλαμέντας, καὶ πιλοφορεῖ μόνος αἰεί, τῶν ἄλλων ἱερέων
 ἐν μόναις πιλοφορούντων ταῖς ἱερουργίαις. Κίννας δ' 5

6 διέστησεν, 'broke up the crowd,' i. e. of his opponents, as in ch. 30. 2. This seems better than 'separated the two contending parties.'

ἐκτρεπόμενος, 'avoiding a conflict with Cinna,' 'declinans' (Schweigh.). Wright and Benecke both say 'drove away,' but this is not so good.

65. 2 μέχρι Νώλης. See above ch. 56. 4; Velleius (ii. 20. 4) adds 'ab eo exercitu, qui circa Nola erat, receptus est.'

3 Γάιος Μάριος ἕτερος, i. e. Gratidianus, cf. Cic. de Leg. iii. 16. 36.

4 The senate was probably within its right in thus authoritatively calling attention to the fact that Cinna had by his own acts against the Roman state become an enemy, and therefore ceased to be a citizen, and *a fortiori* to be consul. This case, however, is never used as a precedent, for Cinna compelled retractation later on; see chs. 69. 5 and 70. 2.

ες Καπύην τραπόμενος, ἔνθα Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἄλλος
 ἦν, τοὺς τε ἄρχοντας αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσοι ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς
 ἐπεδήμουν ἐθεράπευε, καὶ παρελθὼν ὡς ὕπατος εἰς
 μέσους τὰς τε ῥάβδους καθεῖλεν οἷα ἰδιώτης, καὶ δα-
 6 κρύσας ἔφη, ‘παρὰ μὲν ὑμῶν, ὧ πολῖται, τὴν ἀρχὴν
 τήνδε ἔλαβον· ὁ γὰρ δῆμος ἐχειροτόνησεν· ἡ βουλὴ δ’
 ἀφείλετό με χωρὶς ὑμῶν. καὶ τὰδε παθὼν ἐν οἰκείois
 κακοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὅμως ἀγανακτῶ· τί γὰρ ἔτι τὰς φυ-
 λὰς ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις θεραπεύομεν, τί δὲ ὑμῶν δεό-
 μεθα, ποῦ δὲ ἔσεσθε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἢ χειροτονιῶν ἢ
 τῶν ὑπατειῶν ἔτι κύριοι, εἰ μὴ βεβαιώσετε μὲν ἃ δί-
 66 δοτε, ἀφαιρήσεσθε δ’ ὅταν αὐτοὶ δοκιμάσητε;’ ταῦτ’
 εἰπὼν εἰς ἐρέθισμα, καὶ πολλὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατοικτισά-
 μενος, τὴν τε ἐσθῆτα κατέρρηξε, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος
 καταθορῶν ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν εἰς μέσους, καὶ ἔκειτο ἐπὶ
 πλείστον, ἕως ἐπικλασθέντες ἀνέστησάν τε αὐτόν, καὶ
 καθίσαντες αὐθις ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου τὰς τε ῥάβδους ἀν-
 έσχον, καὶ θαρρεῖν οἷα ὕπατον ἐκέλευον, καὶ σφᾶς ἄγειν
 2 ἐφ’ ὃ τι χρήζοι. τῆς δ’ ἀφορμῆς εὐθύς οἱ ἄρχοντες
 αὐτῶν ἐπέβαινον, καὶ ὥμνον τῷ Κίννᾳ τὸν ὄρκον τὸν
 στρατιωτικόν, καὶ τοὺς ὑφ’ αὐτὸν ἕκαστος ἐξώρκου.
 3 ὁ δ’, ἐπεὶ οἱ ταῦτ’ εἶχεν ἀσφαλῶς, ἐπὶ τὰς συμμαχίδας
 πόλεις διέθει, καὶ ἠρέθιζε κάκείνους ὡς διὰ τούσδε
 μάλιστα τὴν συμφορὰν αὐτῷ γενομένην. οἱ δὲ χρή-
 4 ματά τε αὐτῷ καὶ στρατιὰν συνετέλουν. καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ
 τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ δυνατῶν ἕτεροι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικνοῦντο,
 οἷς ἀπήρεσκεν ἢ τῆς πολιτείας εὐστάθεια.
 5 καὶ Κίννας μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτ’ ἐγίγνετο, Ὀκτάוניος δὲ
 καὶ Μερόλας οἱ ὕπατοι τὸ μὲν ἄστνυ τάφροις καὶ τει-

5 τὰς τε ῥάβδους καθεῖλεν, here and of Sulla in ch. 104. 1, means laying them down in renunciation of the *imperium*, as Domitius did at Corfinium (Caesar, Bell. Civ. ii. 32. 9), ‘proiectis fascibus et deposito imperio privatus.’ It is opposed to ἀνέσχον in 66. 1.

66. 1 ἐπὶ πλείστον, ‘for a long time’; cf. ch. 3. 1.

χῶν ἐπισκευαῖς ὠχύρου, καὶ μηχανήματα ἐφίστανον,
 ἐπὶ δὲ στρατιὰν ἔς τε τὰς ἐτέρας πόλεις τὰς ἔτι σφῶν
 κατηκόους καὶ ἔς τὴν ἀγχοῦ Γαλατίαν περιέπεμπον,
 Γναῖόν τε Πομπήιον, ἀνθύπατον ὄντα καὶ στρατευ-
 μάτων περὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον ἡγούμενον, ἐκάλουν κατὰ σπου-
 δὴν ἐπικουρεῖν τῇ πατρίδι. ὁ δ' ἦλθε, καὶ πρὸς ταῖς 67
 Κολλίναις πύλαις ἐστρατοπέδευσε· καὶ ὁ Κίννας ἐπελ-
 θὼν αὐτῷ παρεστρατοπέδευεν. Γάιος δὲ Μάριος τού- 2
 των πυθόμενος ἐς Τυρρηνίαν κατέπλευσεν ἅμα τοῖς
 συνεξελαθείσι καὶ θεράπουσιν αὐτῶν ἐπελθοῦσιν ἀπὸ
 Ῥώμης, ἐς πεντακοσίους μάλιστά που γεγονόσιν. ῥυ- 3
 πῶν δ' ἔτι καὶ κόμης ἔμπλεως ἐπήει τὰς πόλεις,
 οἰκτρὸς ὀφθῆναι· μάχας τε καὶ τρόπαια αὐτοῦ Κιμβρικὰ
 καὶ ἔξ ὑπατείας ὑπερεπαίρων, καὶ περὶ τῆς χειροτονίας
 σφόδρα αὐτοῖς ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἐπαγγελλόμενός τε καὶ πι-
 στὸς εἶναι δοκῶν, συνήγαγε Τυρρηνῶν ἐξακισχιλίους,
 καὶ ἐς Κίνναν διήλθεν ἀσμένως αὐτὸν ἐπὶ κοινωνία τῶν
 παρόντων δεχόμενον. ὥς δὲ ἀνέμιχθησαν, ἐστρατοπέ- 4
 δευον ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Τιβέριος, ἐς τρία διαιρε-
 θέντες, Κίννας μὲν καὶ Κάρβων σὺν αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως
 ἀντικρύ, Σερτώριος δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἄνω, καὶ Μά-
 ριος πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ζευγνύντες οἶδε τὸν ποταμὸν
 καὶ γεφυροῦντες, ἵνα τὴν πόλιν ἀφέλαιντο τὴν σιταγω-
γίαν. Μάριος δὲ καὶ Ὄστια εἶλε καὶ διήρπαζε, καὶ 5
 Κίννας ἐπιπέμψας Ἀρίμινον κατέλαβε, τοῦ μὴ τινα

5 ἐς τὰς ἐτέρας πόλεις. This is doubtless the occasion of which
 Granius Licinianus writes (*Frag.* p. 27), 'dediticiis omnibus a
 senatu civitas data qui multa millia polliciti vix XVI cohortes
 miserunt' (also Livy, *Epit.* 80). Cinna on the other hand is
 described by Velleius (ii. 20. 4) as 'fretus ingenti numero novo-
 rum civium, e quorum delectu CCC amplius cohortes conscri-
 pserat, ac triginta legionum instar impleverat.'

περὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον (κόλπον), i.e. in Picenum.

67. 3 ἐπαγγελλόμενος, 'making them promises with respect to
 the arrangements for voting, which they desired above every-
 thing.'

- στρατιὰν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς ὑπηκόου Γαλα-
 68 τίας. οἱ δὲ ὕπατοι δεδιότες, καὶ στρατιᾶς ἄλλης δεόμε-
 νοι, Σύλλαν μὲν οὐκ εἶχον καλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἤδη
 πεπερακότα, Καικίλιον δὲ Μέτελλον, τὰ λείψανα τοῦ
 συμμαχικοῦ πολέμου πρὸς Σαυνίτας διατιθέμενον, ἐκέ-
 λευον, ὅπῃ δύναιτο εὐπρεπῶς διαλυσάμενον, ἐπικουρεῖν
 2 τῇ πατρίδι πολιορκουμένη. οὐ συμβαίνοντος δὲ Σαυ-
 νίταις ἐς αὐτὴν ἦτον τοῦ Μετέλλου, ὁ Μάριος αἰσθόμενος
 συνέθετο τοῖς Σαυνίταις ἐπὶ πάσιν οἷς ἦτον παρὰ
 τοῦ Μετέλλου. ὧδε μὲν δὴ καὶ Σαυνῖται Μαρίῳ συν-
 3 ἐμάχουν. Κλαύδιον δὲ Ἀππίον χιλιάρχον, τειχοφυλα-
 κούντα τῆς Ῥώμης τὸν λόφον τὸν καλούμενον Ἰάνου-
 κλον, εὖ ποτὲ παθόντα ὑφ' ἐαυτοῦ τῆς εὐεργεσίας
 ἀναμνήσας ὁ Μάριος ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσῆλθεν, ὑπανοιχθεί-
 σης αὐτῷ πύλης περὶ ἔω, καὶ τὸν Κίνναν ἐσεδέξατο.
 4 ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν αὐτίκα ἐξεώσθησαν, Ὀκταουίου καὶ Πομ-
 πηίου σφίσιν ἐπιδραμόντων· κεραυνῶν δὲ πολλῶν ἐς
 τὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου στρατόπεδον καταρραγέντων, ἄλλοι
 τε τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἀπώλετο.
- 69 Μάριος δ' ἐπεὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῆς ἐκ τε θαλάσσης καὶ
 ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φερομένης κατέσχευεν, ἐπὶ τὰς
 ἀγχοῦ τῆς Ῥώμης πόλεις διετρόχαζεν, ἔνθα σίτος ἦν
 2 τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσεσωρευμένος. ἄφνω δὲ τοῖς φρου-
 ροῦσιν αὐτὸν ἐπιπίπτων εἶλε μὲν Ἀντίον καὶ Ἀρικίαν
 καὶ Λανούουιον καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις, ἔστιν αὖ καὶ προδιδόν-
 των τινῶν· ὥς δὲ καὶ τῆς κατὰ γῆν ἐκράτησεν ἀγο-
 ρᾶς, εὐθαρσῶς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτίκα διὰ
 τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς καλουμένης Ἀππίας, πρὶν τινα αὐτοῖς

68. 2 ἐπὶ πάσιν οἷς ἦτον. Cf. Granius Licinianus, p. 27 :
 'Senatusque per Metelli legatos consultus de voluntate Samni-
 tium qui se negabant aliter in pacem venturos, nisi civitas ipsis
et perfugis daretur bonaque redderentur, abnuvit dignitatem anti-
 quam prae se ferentibus patribus. Quibus cognitis Cinna per
 Flavium Fimbriam in leges quas postulabant eos recepit et
 copiis suis iunxit.'

ἀγορὰν ἄλλην ἐτέρωθεν ἀχθῆναι. τοῦ δ' ἄστεος ἑκατὸν 3
 σταδίους αὐτός τε καὶ Κίννας καὶ οἱ στρατηγοῦντες
 αὐτοῖς Κάρβων τε καὶ Σερτώριος ἀποσχόντες ἐστρατο-
 πέδευσαν, Ὀκταοῦιον καὶ Κράσσου καὶ Μετέλλου περὶ
 τὸ ὄρος τὸ Ἀλβανὸν αὐτοῖς ἀντικαθημένων καὶ τὸ
 μέλλον ἔσεσθαι περιβλεπομένων, ἀρετῇ μὲν ἔτι καὶ
 πλήθει νομιζομένων εἶναι κρειττόνων, ὀκνούντων δ'
 ὑπὲρ ὅλης ὀξέως κινδυνεῦσαι τῆς πατρίδος διὰ μάχης 4
 μιᾶς. ὥς δὲ περιπέμψας ὁ Κίννας περὶ τὸ ἄστυ κήρυ-
 κας ἐδίδου τοῖς ἐς αὐτὸν αὐτομολοῦσι θεράπουσιν ἐλευ-
 θερίαν, κατὰ πλῆθος ἡτομόλουν αὐτίκα· καὶ ἡ βουλὴ
 ταραττομένη, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, εἰ βραδύνειεν ἡ σιτο-
 δεῖα, παρὰ τοῦ δήμου προσδοκῶσα, μετέπιπτε τῇ γνώμῃ,
 καὶ πρέσβεις περὶ διαλύσεων ἐς τὸν Κίνναν ἔπεμπον.
 ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἤρετο πότερον ὥς πρὸς ὕπατον ἔλθοιεν 5
 ἢ πρὸς ἰδιώτην. ἀπορησάντων δ' ἐκείνων καὶ ἐς τὸ
 ἄστυ ἐπανελθόντων, πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἤδη
 κατὰ πλῆθος πρὸς τὸν Κίνναν ἐξεπήδων, οἱ μὲν περὶ
 τῷ λιμῷ δεδιότες, οἱ δὲ πρὸ πολλοῦ τὰ ἐκείνων αἰρού-
 μενοι καὶ τὴν ῥοπὴν τῶν γιγνομένων περιμένοντες.
 Κίννας δ' ἤδη καταφρονητικῶς τῷ τείχει ἐπλησίαζε, 70
 καὶ ἀποσχὼν ὅσον βέλους ὁρμὴν ἐστρατοπέδευεν, ἀπο-
 ρούντων ἔτι καὶ δεδιότων καὶ ὀκνούντων ἐπιχειρεῖν
 αὐτῷ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ὀκτάοιον διὰ τὰς αὐτομολίας τε
 καὶ διαπρεσβεύσεις. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ πάνυ μὲν ἀπορούσα, 2
 καὶ δεινὸν ἡγουμένη Λεύκιον Μερόλαν, τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ
 Διός, ὑπατεύοντα ἀντὶ τοῦ Κίννα καὶ οὐδὲν ἐς τὴν
 ἀρχὴν ἀμαρτόντα ἀφελέσθαι, ἄκουσα δ' ὁμῶς ὑπὸ τῶν
 συμφορῶν αὐθις ἐς τὸν Κίνναν [τοὺς] πρέσβεις ἔπεμ-
 πεν ὥς πρὸς ὕπατον. οὐδὲν τε χρηστὸν ἔτι προσδοκῶν- 3
 τες τοῦτο μόνον ἤτουν, ἐπομόσαι σφίσι τὸν Κίνναν
 φόνον οὐκ ἐργάσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ ὁμόσαι μὲν οὐκ ἠξίωσεν,

70. 1 διαπρεσβεύσεις, 'the parleyings of waverers with the enemy.'

ὑπέσχετο δὲ καὶ ὧδε, ἐκὼν οὐδενὶ σφαγῆς αἴτιος ἔσε-
 4 σθαι. Ὀκτάουιον δ' ἤδη περιοδεύσαντα καὶ κατ' ἄλλας
 πύλας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντα ἐκέλευσεν ἐκστῆναι τοῦ
 5 μέσου, μὴ τι καὶ ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ πάθοι. ὁ μὲν δὴ
 ταῦτ' ἐπὶ βήματος ὑψηλοῦ, καθάπερ ὕπατος, τοῖς πρέ-
 σβεσιν ἄνωθεν ἀπεκρίνατο. Μάριος δ' αὐτῷ παρεστὼς
 παρὰ τὸν θρόνον ἡσύχαζε μὲν, ἐδήλου δὲ τῇ δριμύ-
 6 τητι τοῦ προσώπου πόσον ἐργάσεται φόνον. δεξαμένης
 δὲ ταῦτα τῆς βουλῆς, καὶ καλούσης ἐσελθεῖν Κίνναν
 τε καὶ Μάριον (ἦσθοντο γὰρ δὴ Μαρίου μὲν εἶναι
 τὰ ἔργα τάδε πάντα, Κίνναν δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράφεσθαι),
 σὺν εἰρωνείᾳ σφόδρα ὁ Μάριος ἐπιμειδιῶν εἶπεν οὐκ
 7 εἶναι φυγάσιν ἐσόδους. καὶ εὐθὺς οἱ δῆμαρχοι τὴν
 φυγὴν αὐτῷ τε, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι κατὰ Σύλλαν ὕπατον
 ἐξελέλαντο, ἐψηφίσαντο λελύσθαι.

- 71 οἱ μὲν δὴ δεχομένων αὐτοὺς σὺν δέει πάντων ἐσ-
 ῆσαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀντιπράξαι σφίσι δο-
 2 κούντων ἀκωλύτως πάντα διηρπάζετο. Ὀκταουίῳ δὲ
 Κίννας μὲν καὶ Μάριος ὅρκους ἐπεπόμφεσαν, καὶ θύται
 καὶ μάντις οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι προύλεγον, οἱ δὲ φίλοι
 3 φυγεῖν παρήνουν. ὁ δ' εἰπὼν οὐποτε προλείψειν τὴν
 πόλιν ὕπατος ὢν, εἰς τὸ Ἰάνουκλον, ἐκστὰς τοῦ μέσου,
 διῆλθε μετὰ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων καὶ τινος ἔτι καὶ στρα-
 τοῦ, ἐπὶ τε τοῦ θρόνου προουκάθητο τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς
 ἐσθῆτα ἐπικείμενος, ῥάβδων καὶ πελέκεων ὥς ὑπάτῳ
 4 περικειμένων. ἐπιθέοντος δ' αὐτῷ μετὰ τινῶν ἱππέων
 Κηνσωρίνου, καὶ πάλιν τῶν φίλων αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς
 παρεστῶσης στρατιᾶς φυγεῖν παρακαλούντων καὶ τὸν
 ἵππον αὐτῷ προσαγόντων, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος οὐδὲ ὑπ-
 5 ἀναστῆναι, τὴν σφαγὴν περιέμενεν. ὁ δὲ Κηνσωρίνος

6 οὐκ εἶναι φυγάσιν ἐσόδους. Marius, unlike Cinna (cf. note on ch. 65. 4), had been outlawed by decree of the people.

71. 4 τῆς παρεστῶσης στρατιᾶς, i. e. the soldiers joined with his friends in urging him to fly.

αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκτεμὼν ἐκόμισεν εἰς Κίνναν, καὶ ἐκρεμάσθη πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἐν ἀγορᾷ πρώτου τοῦδε ὑπάτου. μετὰ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναιρουμένων 6 ἐκρήμναντο αἱ κεφαλαί, καὶ οὐ διέλιπεν ἔτι καὶ τότε τὸ μύσος, ἄρξάμενόν τε ἀπὸ Ὀκταουίου καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἔπειτα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναιρουμένους περιόν. **Ζητη-** 7 **ταὶ δ'** ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτίκα ἐξέθεον τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἱππέων ἀναιρουμένων λόγος οὐδεὶς ἔτι μετὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἐγίγνετο, αἱ δὲ τῶν βουλευτῶν κεφαλαὶ πᾶσαι προυτίθεντο πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων. αἰδῶς τε θεῶν ἢ νέ- 8 μεσις ἀνδρῶν ἢ φθόνου φόβος οὐδεὶς ἔτι τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἐπῆν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἔργα ἀνήμερα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις εἰς ὄψεις ἐτρέποντο ἀθεμίστους, κτινύντες τε ἀνηλεῶς, καὶ περιτέμνοντες αὐχένας ἀνδρῶν ἤδη τεθνεώτων, καὶ προτιθέντες τὰς συμφορὰς εἰς φόβον ἢ κατάπληξιν ἢ θῆαν ἀθέμιστον.

Γάιος μὲν δὴ Ἰούλιος καὶ Λεύκιος Ἰούλιος, δύο **72** ἀλλήλοιν ἀδελφῶ, καὶ Ἀτίλιος Σερρανὸς καὶ Πόπλιος Λέντλος καὶ Γάιος Νεμετώριος καὶ Μάρκος Βαίβιος ἐν ὁδῷ καταληφθέντες ἀνῆρέθησαν, Κράστος δὲ μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς διωκόμενος τὸν μὲν υἱὸν ἔφθασε προανελεῖν, αὐτὸς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν διωκόντων ἐπανηρέθη. τὸν δὲ **ρή-** 2 **τορα Μάρκον Ἀντώνιον** ἔς τι χωρίον ἐκφυγόντα ὁ γεωργὸς ἐπικρύπτων καὶ ξενίζων εἰς πανδοκεῖον ἔπεμψε τὸν θεράποντα σπουδαιότερον τοῦ συνήθους οἶνον

6 οὐ διέλιπεν, 'the impious practice which began with Octavius was continued in case of the rest who were slain.'

8 προτιθέντες, 'making a display of their fate in order to strike fear or amazement, or for the mere sake of the evil spectacle.'

72. 1 Λεύκιος Ἰούλιος : see note on ch. 48. 5.

Κράστος. Drumann identifies this victim of Marius with P. Licinius Crassus Dives, father of the triumvir. He is mentioned along with Lentulus (ch. 40. 2) as legate in the Social War.

2 σπουδαιότερον, 'wine of a better quality than usual.'

πρίασθαι· καὶ τοῦ καπήλου, τί δὴ σπουδαιότερον αἰτοίη,
 πυθομένου, ὁ μὲν θεράπων ἐψιθύρισε τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ
 πρίαμενος ἐπανήλθεν, ὁ δὲ κάπηλος αὐτίκα ἔθει Μα-
 3 ρίῳ τοῦτο δηλώσων. καὶ ὁ Μάριος ἐπεὶ τε ἤκουσεν,
 ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἀνέδραμεν ὥς αὐτὸς ὀρμήσων ἐπὶ τὸ ἔρ-
 γον· ἐπισχόντων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν φίλων, χιλιάρχος ἀπο-
 σταλεῖς στρατιώτας ἐς τὸ οἶκημα ἀνέπεμψεν, οὓς ὁ
 Ἀντώνιος ἡδὺς ὦν εἰπεῖν κατεκῆλει λόγοις μακροῖς,
 οἰκτιζόμενός τε καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα διεξιὼν, ἕως ὁ
 χιλιάρχος ἀπορῶν ἐπὶ τῷ γιγνομένῳ αὐτὸς ἀνέδραμεν
 ἐς τὸ οἶκημα, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας εὐρὼν ἀκροωμένους
 ἔκτεινε τὸν Ἀντώνιον ῥητορεύοντα ἔτι, καὶ τὴν κεφα-
 73 λὴν ἔπεμψε τῷ Μαρίῳ. Κορνοῦτον δὲ ἐν καλύβαις
 κρυπτόμενον οἱ θεράποντες εὐμηχάνως περιέσωσαν·
 νεκρῷ γὰρ περιτυχόντες σώματι πυρὰν τε ἔνησαν, καὶ
 τῶν ζητητῶν ἐπιόντων ἄψαντες τὴν πυρὰν ἔφασαν τὸν
 2 δεσπότην καίειν ἀπαγξάμενον. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τῶν
 θεραπόντων περιεσέσωστο, Κόιντος δὲ Ἀγχάριος Μά-
 ριον ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ μέλλοντα θύσειν ἐφύλαττεν,
 ἐλπίζων οἱ τὸ ἱερὸν διαλλακτῆριον ἔσσεσθαι. ὁ δ' ἀρ-
 χόμενος τῆς θυσίας, προσιόντα τὸν Ἀγχάριον καὶ προσ-
 αγορεύοντα αὐτίκα ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τοῖς παρεστῶσι
 3 προσέταξεν ἀνελεῖν. καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ καὶ τοῦδε καὶ Ἀντων-
 νίου τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπάτων ἢ στρατηγῶν
 γεγονότων ἐν ἀγορᾷ προυτέθησαν. ταφὴν τε οὐδενὶ
 ἐξῆν ἐπενεγκεῖν ἐς οὐδένα τῶν ἀναιρουμένων, ἀλλ'
 4 οἰωνοὶ καὶ κύνες ἄνδρας τοιοῦσδε διεσπάσαντο. πολὺς
 δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἦν τῶν στασιωτῶν φόνος ἐς ἀλλήλους
 ἀνεύθυνος, καὶ ἐξελάσεις ἐτέρων, καὶ δημεύσεις περι-
 ουσίας, καὶ ἀρχῆς ἀφαιρέσεις, καὶ ἀνατροπαὶ τῶν ἐπὶ
 5 Σύλλα τεθέντων νόμων. αὐτοῦ τε Σύλλα φίλοι πάν-

73. 4 τῶν στασιωτῶν, i. e. the partisans of both sides took the opportunity of murdering their enemies.

τῶν ἐπὶ Σύλλα τεθέντων νόμων, i. e. the laws passed in Sulla's

τες ἀνηροῦντο καὶ ἡ οἰκία κατεσκάπτετο καὶ ἡ περιουσία δεδήμευτο, καὶ πολέμιος ἐψηφίζετο· τὸ δὲ γύναιον καὶ ἡ γενεὰ ζητούμενοι διέφυγον. ὅλως τε οὐδὲν ἀπὴν ἀθρόων τε καὶ ποικίλων κακῶν.

ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις, ἐς ὑπόκρισιν ἀρχῆς ἐννόμου μετὰ 74 τοσοῦσδε φόνους ἀκρίτους, ὑπεβλήθησαν κατήγοροι τῷ τε ἱερεῖ τοῦ Διὸς Μερόλα, κατ' ὀργὴν ἄρα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἣν Κίνναν οὐδὲν ἀδικῶν διεδέδεκτο, καὶ Λουκατίῳ Κάτλῳ τῷ Μαρίου περὶ τὰ Κιμβρικά συνάρχῳ, περισωθέντι μὲν ἐκ Μαρίου πάλαι, ἀχαρίστῳ δ' ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ πικροτάτῳ περὶ τὴν ἐξέλασιν γενομένῳ. οὗτοι 2 μὲν δὴ φυλασσόμενοί τε ἀφανῶς, καὶ τῆς κυρίας ἡμέρας ἐπελθούσης ἐς τὴν δίκην ἀνακαλούμενοι (τετράκεις δὲ ἐχρῆν κηρυττομένους ἐν ὠρισμένοις ὥρων διαστήμασιν ἀλῶναι), Μερόλας μὲν τὰς φλέβας ἐνέτεμεν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ πινάκιον αὐτῷ παρακείμενον ἐδήλου ὅτι κόπτων τὰς φλέβας τὸν πῖλον ἀποθοίτο (οὐ γὰρ ἦν θεμιτὸν ἱερέα περικείμενον τελευτᾶν), Κάτλος δ' ἐν οἰκίᾳ νιοχρίστῳ τε καὶ ἔτι ὑγρῷ καίῳν ἄνθρακας ἐκὼν ἀπεπνίγη. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οὕτως ἀπέθανον, θεράποντες δ' 3 ὅσοι κατὰ τὸ κήρυγμα πρὸς Κίνναν ἐκδραμόντες ἐλεύθεροι ἐγεγέννητο καὶ αὐτῷ Κίννα τότε ἐστρατεύοντο, ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπέτρεχον καὶ διήρπαζον, ἀναιροῦντες ἅμα οἷς περιτύχοιεν· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς σφετέροις δεσπό-

consulship in 88 B. C.; see ch. 59. This repeal would imply the restoration in this year (B. C. 87) of Sulpicius' law, distributing the new citizens among all the tribes, as Cinna had promised them (ch. 64. 2 and Vell. ii. 20. 2: 'Cinna in omnibus tribus eos se distributurum pollicitus est'). On the other hand the Epitome of Livy (Book 84) has the record 'novis civibus S. C. suffragium datum est' among the events following Cinna's death in 84 B. C.; such a delay of three years is very improbable and Appian's account here is in every way to be preferred.

74. 2 ἀφανῶς, i. e. they were not openly arrested, but spies were set on them to prevent their escape.

τετράκεις. This was evidently a trial before the *comitia*: see Cic. pro Domo, 17. 45.

4 ταις μάλιστα ἐπεχείρουν. Κίννας δ' ἐπεὶ πολλάκις αὐτοῖς ἀπαγορεύων οὐκ ἔπειθε, Γαλατῶν στρατιὰν αὐτοῖς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἀναπανομένοις περιστήσας διέφθειρε πάντας. οἱ μὲν δὴ θεράποντες δίκην ἀξίαν ἔδοσαν τῆς ἐς δεσπότας πολλάκις ἀπιστίας·

- 75 τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους ὕπατοι μὲν ἦρηντο Κίννας τε αὐθις καὶ Μάριος ἔβδομον, ὃ μετὰ φυγὴν καὶ ἐπικήρυξιν εἴ τις ὡς πολέμιον ἀνέλοι, τὸ μάντευμα ὅμως ἀπήντα
2 τὸ τῶν ἐπτὰ νεογνῶν αἰετῶν. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐς Σύλλαν ἐπινοῶν τοῦ πρώτου μηνὸς τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπέθανε, καὶ Οὐαλέριον Φλάκκον ὁ Κίννας ἐλόμενος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξέπεμψεν, ἀποθανόντος δὲ καὶ Φλάκκου Κάρβωνα εἴλετο συνάρχειν
76 ἐαυτῷ. Σύλλας δ' ἐπέιξει τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπανόδου τὰ ἐς Μιθριδάτην πάντ' ἐπιταχύνας, ὥς μοι προείρηται, καὶ ἔτεσιν οὐδ' ὅλοις τρισὶν ἐκκαίδεκα μὲν ἀνδρῶν μυριάδας κατακανών, τὴν δὲ Ἑλλάδα καὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ Ἰωνίαν καὶ Ἀσίαν καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλά, ὅσα Μιθριδάτης προειλήφει, ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἀναλαβών, αὐτόν τε τὸν βασιλέα τὰς ναῦς ἀφελόμενος καὶ ἐς μόνην τὴν πατρίαν ἀρχὴν ἐκ τοσῶνδε κατακλείσας, ἐπανήει στρατὸν ἄγων εὖνουν οἱ καὶ γεγυμνασμένοι καὶ πολλὸν καὶ
2 τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἐπηρμένον. ἦγε δὲ καὶ νεῶν πλῆθος καὶ χρήματα καὶ παρασκευὴν ἐς ἅπαντα ἀξίολογον, καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἦν ἐπίφοβος, ὥστε δειμαίνοντες αὐτόν ὃ τε Κάρβων καὶ ὁ Κίννας ἐς ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν τινὰς περιέπεμπον, χρήματα καὶ στρατιὰν καὶ σῖτον αὐτοῖς ἀθροίζειν, τοὺς τε δυνατοὺς συνουσίαις ἀνελάμβανον, καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἠρέθιζον μάλιστα τὰς νεοπολίτιδας

75. 1 τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους: 86 B. C. coss. Mario VII. Cinna II.

2 ἀποθανόντος. Flaccus was murdered in Asia by his lieutenant Fimbria, who afterwards killed himself; see ch. 91. 4.

Κάρβωνα. This is the year 85 B. C. coss. Cinna III. Carbone.

76. 2 ἀνελάμβανον, 'potentiores quoque familiaribus congressibus ad partes suas adiungebant' (Schweigh.).

ὥς δι' αὐτὰς ὄντες ἐν τοσῷδε κινδύνῳ. τὰς τε ναῦς ³
ἐπεσκεύαζεν ἀθρόως, καὶ τὰς ἐν Σικελίᾳ μετεκάλουν,
καὶ τὴν παράλιον ἐφύλασσον, καὶ οὐδὲν ὀξείας οὐδὲ
οἶδε παρασκευῆς μετὰ δέους ἅμα καὶ σπονδῆς ἐξέλειπον.

Σύλλας δ' ἐπὶ φρονήματος ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ περὶ ⁷⁷
ἐαυτοῦ, καταλέγων ὅσα περὶ Λιβύην ἐς Ἰογόρθαν τὸν
Νομάδα ἔτι ταμιεύων, ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς Κιμβρικοῖς πρε-
σβεύων, ἢ Κιλικίας ἡγούμενος, ἢ ἐν τοῖς συμμαχικοῖς,
ἢ ὑπατεύων ἔπραξε, τὰ δ' ἔναγχος ἐς Μιθριδάτην
ὑπερεπαίρων τε μάλιστα, καὶ καταλογιζόμενος αὐτοῖς
ἀθρόως ἔθνη πολλὰ ὅσα Μιθριδάτου γενόμενα Ῥω-
μαίοις ἀναλάβοι, καὶ οὐδενὸς ἦττον ὅτι τοὺς ἐξελα-
θέντας ἐκ Ῥώμης ὑπὸ Κίinna, καταφυγόντας ἐς αὐτόν,
ὑποδέξαιτο ἀπορουμένους, καὶ ἐπικουφίζοι τὰς συμφο-
ρὰς αὐτοῖς. ἀνθ' ὧν ἔφη τοὺς ἐχθροὺς πολέμιον αὐτὸν ²
ἀναγράψαι καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀνασκάψαι καὶ τοὺς φίλους
ἀνελεῖν, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα καὶ τέκνα μόλις πρὸς ἐαυτὸν
διαφυγεῖν. ἀλλ' αὐτίκα καὶ τοῖσδε καὶ τῇ πόλει πάσῃ
τιμωρὸς ἦξει ἐπὶ τοὺς εἰργασμένους. τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις
πολίταις τε καὶ νεοπολίταις προύλεγεν οὐδενὶ μέμψε-
σθαι περὶ οὐδενός. ὧν ἀναγιγνωσκομένων δέος ἅπαν- ³
τας ἐπέιχε, καὶ πρέσβεις ἔπεμπον οἱ συναλλάξαι αὐτὸν
τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἔμελλον, καὶ προερεῖν, εἴ τινος ἀσφαλείας
δέοιτο, τῇ βουλῇ τάχιστα ἐπιστεῖλαι. τοῖς δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν
Κίinna εἶρητο μὴ στρατολογεῖν ἔστε ἐκείνον ἀποκρί-
νασθαι. οἱ δ' ὑπέσχοντο μὲν ὧδε πράττειν, οἰχομένων ⁴
δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἐαυτοὺς ἀνείπον ὑπάτους

77. 1 πρεσβεύων, cf. ch. 38. 6.

³ νεοπολίτας. See Livy, *Epit.* Book 86: 'Sulla cum Italicis populis, ne timeretur ab iis velut erupturus civitatem et suffragii ius nuper datum, foedus percussit.' The result of this was that the whole of the Italians who survived the massacres of the Civil Wars were Roman citizens and retained their places in the tribes among which they had been distributed by Cinna.

⁴ ἐς τὸ μέλλον, i. e. for the following year 84 B. C.

ἐαυτοὺς ἀνείπον ὑπάτους. The Epitomator of Livy speaks of

- αὐτίκα, τοῦ μὴ διὰ τὰ ἀρχαιρέσια θᾶπτον ἐπανήκειν.
 5 καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιμόντες στρατιὰν συνήγον, ἣν ἐς
 Λιβυρνίαν, ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαντήσοντες τῷ Σύλλᾳ, κατὰ
 μέρος ἐπὶ νεῶν διεβίβαζον.
- 78 τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον μέρος εὐσταθῶς διέπλευσε· τῷ
 δ' ἐξῆς χειμῶν ἐπέπεσε, καὶ ὅσοι τῆς γῆς ἐλαμβάνοντο,
 εὐθύς ἐς τὰς πατρίδας διεδίδρασκον ὡς οὐ στρατεύ-
 2 σοντες ἐκόντες κατὰ πολιτῶν. οἱ τε λοιποὶ πυνθανό-

Cinna and Carbo (Book 83) as 'ab se ipsis consules per biennium creati,' and (Book 80) of Marius and Cinna in 87 B. C. 'citra ulla comitia consules in sequentem annum se ipsos renuntiaverunt.' I cannot agree with the current opinion that all forms of appointment by the people were omitted, and that these passages are evidence for the doctrine that a consul was legally qualified to appoint his successor without consulting the people, just as he was undoubtedly qualified to appoint a dictator. I believe on the contrary that it is always the sovereign people which appoints the regular magistrates whether kings or consuls, and that the co-optation of a dictator into an existing college of magistrates in a time of emergency is not really a type of normal institution. In the present case it would have been a wanton act of folly in those who claimed to be leaders of the democratic party openly to deprive the people of a formal right which even Caesar as dictator left them. I should interpret these passages of Appian and the Epitome as merely describing the practical effect of the proceedings, much as in ch. 82. 5 we read of Sulla who was appointed dictator by a special law, μόναρχον ἑαυτὸν ἀπέφηνε; see note on ch. 98. 4. If Cinna appeared as returning officer on the Campus and gave notice that he himself was a candidate, with a hint that any rival would have his throat cut, and then declared himself duly elected, even the strong expression 'citra ulla comitia' would be abundantly justified, especially when we remember that long before the time when the Epitomator wrote 'comitia' had lost its sense of 'assemblies of the people,' and meant merely 'elections.' Appian's explanation here, that the consuls hurried on the proceedings in order not to be obliged to return when once they had taken the field, shows that some sort of assembly in Rome was necessary, whereas the dictator could be nominated anywhere on Italian soil (Livy xxvii. 5. 15). For the whole question, see Smith's *D. ct. Ant.* s.v. 'magistratus.'

78. We here pass to the year 84 B. C. coss. Cinna IV. Carbone II.

μενοι ταῦτ' οὐδ' αὐτοὶ περάσειν ἔτι ἔλεγον ἐς τὴν
 Λιβυρνιακὴν. Κίννας δ' ἀγανακτῶν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν αὐτοὺς
 ὡς ἐπιπλήξων συνεκάλει· καὶ οἱ σὺν ὀργῇ παρήεσαν
 ὡς ἀμυνόμενοι. τῶν δὲ ῥαβδοφόρων τινὸς ὁδοποιούν- 3
 τος τῷ Κίννᾳ καὶ τινα τῶν ἐν ποσὶ πατάξαντος, ἕτε-
 ρος ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸν ῥαβδοῦχον ἐπάταξεν. καὶ Κίννα
 κελεύσαντος αὐτὸν συλλαβεῖν, βοή παρὰ πάντων ἀνέστη
 καὶ λίθων ἦσαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀφέσεις· οἱ δ' ἐγγὺς καὶ τὰ
 ξιφίδια ἐπισπάσαντες συνεκέντησαν αὐτόν. οὕτω μὲν 4
 δὴ καὶ Κίννας ὑπατεύων ἀπέθανε· Κάρβων δ' ἐκ
 Λιβυρνιακῆς τοὺς διαπεπλευκώτας ἐς αὐτὴν μετεκάλει,
 καὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα δεδιὼς ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐ κατήει, καὶ
 πάντῃ τῶν δημάρχων αὐτὸν καλούντων ἐπὶ συνάρχου
 χειροτονίαν. ἀπειλησάντων δὲ ἰδιώτην ἀποφανεῖν, ἐπ- 5
 ανῆλθε μὲν καὶ χειροτονίαν προύθηκεν ὑπάτου, ἀπαί-
 σίου δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας γενομένης ἑτέραν προύγραφεν. κὰν 6
 ταύτῃ κεραυνοῦ πεσόντος ἐς τὸ τῆς Σελήνης καὶ τὸ
 τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερόν, οἱ μάντις ὑπὲρ τὰς θερινὰς τρο-
 πὰς ἀνετίθεντο τὰς χειροτονίας, καὶ μόνος ἦρχεν ὁ
 Κάρβων.

Σύλλας δὲ τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤκουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς βου- 79
 λῆς ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτὸς μὲν οὐποτε ἀνδράσι τοιαύδε ἐρ-
 γασαμένοις ἔσεσθαι φίλος, τῇ πόλει δ' οὐ φθονήσειν
 χαριζομένη τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς· ἀσφάλειαν δὲ αὐτὸς
 μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἔφη καὶ τοῖς ἐς αὐτὸν καταφυγοῦσιν
 ἐς αἰὲ παρέξειν, στρατὸν ἔχων εὖνον. ᾧ δὴ καὶ μά- 2
 λιστα δηλὸς ἐγένετο, ἐνὶ ῥήματι τῷδε, οὐ διαλύσω
τὸν στρατὸν ἀλλὰ τὴν τυραννίδα ἥδη διανοούμενος.
 ἥτις δ' αὐτοὺς τὴν τε ἀξίωσιν καὶ περιουσίαν καὶ ἱερω- 3

78. 5 ἀπειλησάντων δὲ ἰδιώτην ἀποφανεῖν. Probably by pro-
 posing a bill to the *plebs*, as in the case of Octavius, ch. 12. 5-8.

79. 1 χαριζομένη, 'if the state thought fit to grant them their
 lives.' αὐτοῖς in this sentence means of course the partisans of
 Cinna, but in the next sentence αὐτοῖς seems to mean the
 senators.

- σύνην, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο γέρας εἶχεν, ἐντελῇ πάντα ἀπο-
 δοθῆναι· καὶ τοὺς περὶ τούτων ἐροῦντας συνέπεμπε
 4 τοῖς πρέσβεσιν. οἳ δ' εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου, Κίν-
 ναν τε πυθόμενοι τεθνάναι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀδιοίκητον
 5 εἶναι, πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν ἀνέστρεφον ἄπρακτοι. καὶ ὁ
 Σύλλας πέντε Ἰταλοῦ στρατοῦ τέλη καὶ ἱππέας ἐξα-
 κισχιλίους, ἄλλους τέ τινας ἐκ Πελοποννήσου καὶ Μακε-
 δονίας προσλαβὼν, ἅπαντας ἄγων ἐς μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν
 τέσσαρας, ἐπὶ τε Πάτρας ἀπὸ τοῦ Πειραιῶς καὶ ἐκ
 Πατρῶν ἐς Βρεντέσιον χιλίαις καὶ ἑξακοσίαις ναυσὶ
 6 διέπλει. δεξαμένων δ' αὐτὸν ἀμαχὶ τῶν Βρεντεσίων,
 τοῖσδε μὲν ὕστερον ἔδωκεν ἀτέλειαν, ἣν καὶ νῦν ἔχου-
 σιν, αὐτὸς δ' ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν ἦγεν ἐς τὸ πρόσω.
 80 καὶ αὐτῷ Μέτελλος Καικίλιος ὁ εὐσεβής, ἐκ πολ-
 λοῦ τε ἡρημένος ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ συμμαχικοῦ πολέμου,
 καὶ διὰ Κίνναν καὶ Μάριον ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐσελθὼν
 ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Λιγυστιδί τὸ μέλλον περιορῶν, αὐτόκλητος
 σύμμαχος ἀπήντα μεθ' ἧς εἶχε συμμαχίας, ἀνθύπατος
 ἔτι ὢν· ἔστι γὰρ εἶναι τοῖς αἰρεθείσιν ἔστε ἐπανέλθο.εν
 2 ἐς Ῥώμην. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Μετέλλῳ καὶ Γναίῳ Πομπήϊος
 ὁ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Μέγας παρονομασθεῖς, Πομπηίου μὲν ὢν
 παῖς τοῦ διεφθαρμένου τῷ κεραυνῷ, οὐκ εὖνου τῷ
 Σύλλᾳ νομισθέντος, τὴν δ' ὑποψίαν διαλυόμενος, ἦλθε

4 ἀδιοίκητον, 'without a government.'

5 διέπλει. Sulla landed in Italy early in 83 B. C. coss. Scipione Norbano (see Fischer, *Röm. Zeit-Tafeln ad ann.*).

6 ἀτέλειαν ἣν καὶ νῦν ἔχουσιν. It is very difficult to see in what this immunity consisted. The question has been discussed by Mr. Bernard W. Henderson in the *Classical Review*, vol. xi (1897), p. 251. He concludes that Sulla must have relieved from customs-dues goods entering Italy by way of Brundisium, and that this privilege (which of course lapsed when the *portoria* were abolished in 60 B. C.) was revived by one of the emperors after the Italian customs-dues were re-imposed. It is difficult to believe that such a gap in the Italian customs' cordon can have been allowed by any government; but I am unable to offer any other explanation.

καὶ τέλος ἤγαγεν, ἐκ τῆς Πικηνίτιδος κατὰ κλέος τοῦ
 πατρὸς ἰσχύσαντος ἐν αὐτῇ μάλιστα ἀγείρας. μετὰ δ' 3
 οὐ πολὺ καὶ δύο ἄλλα συνέλεξε, καὶ χρησιμώτατος ἐν
 τοῖς μάλιστα ὅδε ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο τῷ Σύλλᾳ. ὅθεν αὐτὸν
 ὁ Σύλλας ἔτι νεώτατον ὄντα ἤγεν ἐν τιμῇ, καὶ ἐπιόντος,
 φασίν, ὑπανίστατο μόνῳ. λήγοντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου, 4
 καὶ ἐς Λιβύην ἔπεμψεν ἐξελάσαι τε τοὺς Κάρβωνος φί-
 λους, καὶ Τεμψάλαν ἐκπεσόντα ὑπὸ Νομάδων ἐς τὴν
 βασιλείαν καταγαγεῖν. ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ καὶ θριαμβεῦσαι κατὰ
 τῶν Νομάδων αὐτῷ παρέσχεν ὁ Σύλλας, ἔτι ὄντι γέῳ 5
 καὶ ἔτι ὄντι τῶν ἱππέων. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἐπαρθεὶς ἐς 5
 μέγα ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπὶ Σερτώριον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐπέμφθη
 καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην ὕστερον. ἀφίκετο 6
 δὲ καὶ Κέθηγος ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν, χαλεπώτατος ἀντιστα-
 σιώτης αὐτῷ μετὰ Κίννα καὶ Μαρίου γενόμενος καὶ
 σὺν ἐκείνοις τῆς πόλεως ἐκπεσών, ἰκέτης τε γιγνόμενος
 καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑπηρέτην ἐς ὃ τι βούλοιτο παρέχων.

ὁ δὲ καὶ στρατιᾶς πολὺ πλῆθος ἔχων ἤδη καὶ φί- 81
 λους πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, τοῖσδε μὲν ὑποστρατή-
 γοις ἐχρῆτο, αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ Μέτελλος ἀνθυπάτῳ ὄντε
 ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἐχώρου· ἐδόκει γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ Σύλλας, 2
 ἀνθύπατος ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτῃ γενόμενος, οὐκ ἀποθέσθαι
 πῶ τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ καὶ πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσατο Κίν-
 νας. ὁ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἦει βαρυτάτῃ καὶ 3
 ἀφανεῖ ἔχθρᾳ, οἱ δ' ἐν ἅστει τῆς τε φύσεως αὐτοῦ
 καλῶς τεκμαιρόμενοι, καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἐς τὴν πόλιν
 ἐσβολὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ κατάληψιν ἔτι ἔχοντες ἐν ὄψει, τά
 τε ψηφίσματα ἃ ἐπεκέρυξαν αὐτῷ λογιζόμενοι, καὶ τὴν
 οἰκίαν ὀρώντες ἀνεσκαμμένην καὶ περιουσίαν δεδημευ-
 μένην καὶ φίλους ἀνηρημένους καὶ γενεὰν μόλις ἐκ-
 φυγοῦσαν, ἐδείκναιον. καὶ οὐδὲν σφίσι νίκης ἢ παν- 4

80. 2 τέλος ἤγαγεν, 'brought one legion with him.'

3 ἐπιόντος . . . ὑπανίστατο, 'rose up to greet him on his approach.' Plutarch (Pomp. 8. 2) tells us that Sulla saluted Pompey as 'Imperator.'

- ωλεθρίας μέσον εἶναι νομίζοντες, συνίσταντο τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐπὶ τὸν Σύλλαν μετὰ δέους, ἔς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιπέμποντες στρατιὰν καὶ τροφὰς καὶ χρήματα συνηγον, οὐδέν, ὥς περὶ ἐσχάτων, σφίσιν ἀπολείποντες
- 82 οὔτε σπουδῆς οὔτε προθυμίας. Γαίος τε Νωρβανὸς καὶ Λεύκιος Σκιπίων τῷ τότε ὄντε ὑπάτῳ, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν Κάρβων ὃς πέρυσιν ἦρχεν, ἔχθρα μὲν ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν ὁμοίᾳ χρώμενοι, δέει δὲ καὶ συνειδότι ὦν ἔπραξαν πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων χείροني, ἔκ τε τῆς πόλεως στρατὸν ὅσον ἡνύπρουν κατέλεγον, καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας προσλαβόντες ἐπὶ τὸν Σύλλαν κατὰ μέρος ἐχώρουν, σπείραις ἐκ πεντακοσίων ἀνδρῶν διακοσίαις
- 2 τότε πρῶτον· ὕστερον γὰρ καὶ πλέοσι τούτων. ἡ γὰρ εὐνοία τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐς τοὺς ὑπάτους παρὰ πολὺ ἐποίει, ὥς τὸ μὲν ἔργον τὸ Σύλλα, χωροῦντος ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα, δόξαν ἔχον πολεμίου, τὸ δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων, εἰ
- 3 καὶ ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἔπραττον, πρόσχημα τῆς πατρίδος. τῶν τε ἀμαρτηθέντων αὐτοῖς οἱ πολλοὶ συνεγνωκότες, καὶ τοῦ φόβου μετέχειν ἠγούμενοι, συνέπρασσον, εὖ τὸν Σύλλαν εἰδότες οὐ κόλασιν ἢ διόρθωσιν ἢ φόβον ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἀλλὰ λύμας καὶ θανάτους καὶ δημεύσεις καὶ
- 4 ἀναίρεσιν ὅλως ἀθρόαν ἐπινοοῦντα. ὦν οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν τῆς δόξης. ὃ τε γὰρ πόλεμος ἔφθειρε πάντα, ὦν γε καὶ μύριοι καὶ δισμύριοι πολλάκις ἐν μάχῃ μιᾷ, καὶ ἀμφὶ τὸ ἄστυ πέντε μυριάδες ἀμφοῖν ἀπέθανον·
- 5 καὶ ἐς τοὺς ὑπολοίπους ὁ Σύλλας οὐδὲν δεινὸν καὶ καθ' ἓνα καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἐξέλιπε δρῶν, μέχρι καὶ μόναρχον ἑαυτὸν ἀπέφηνε τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ὅλης, ἐφ' ὅσον ἔχρηζέ τε καὶ ἐβούλετο.
- 83 καὶ τάδε αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ προσημῆναι. δείματά τε γὰρ ἄλογα πολλοῖς καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κατὰ πλῆθος ἐνέπιπτε περὶ ὅλην

81. 4 ὥς περὶ ἐσχάτων, 'ut in extremo periculo' (Schweigh.).

82. 1 σπείραις . . . διακοσίαις, i. e. twenty legions.

τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ μαντευμάτων παλαιῶν ἐπιφοβωτέρων ἐμνημόνεον, τέρατά τε πολλὰ ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ ἡμίονος ἔτεκε, καὶ γυνὴ κούσα ἔχιν ἀντὶ βρέφους ἐξέδωκεν. τὴν τε γῆν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ μέγα ἔσεισε, καὶ νεὼς τινὰς ἐν ² Ῥώμῃ κατήνεγκε, καὶ πάντῃ Ῥωμαίων ὄντων ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα βαρυεργῶν· τό τε Καπιτώλιον ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων τετρακοσίοις που πρόσθεν ἔτεσι γενόμενον ἐνεπρήσθη, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν οὐδεὶς ἐπενόει. πάντα δ' ἔδοξεν ἐς τὸ ³ πλήθος τῶν ἀπολουμένων καὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν, τῆς τε πόλεως κατάληψιν καὶ πολιτείας μεταβολὴν προσημῆναι.

ἤρξατο μὲν οὖν ὁδε ὁ πόλεμος ἐξ οὗ Σύλλας ἐς ⁸⁴ Βρεντέσιον παρήλθεν, ὀλυμπιάδων οὐσῶν ἑκατὸν ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ τεσσαρῶν· μῆκος δ' αὐτοῦ, διὰ τε τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἔργων, σὺν ἐπείξει ὥς ἐπ' ἐχθροὺς ἰδίους ταχυνόντων, οὐ πολὺ ὥς ἐπὶ τοσοῖσδε ἔργοις ἐγένετο. ὅθεν καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς τὰ παθήματα ἐπείγομένοις ² ἐν βραχεὶ μείζω καὶ ὀξύτερα συνέβη γενέσθαι. ἐς δὲ τριετὲς ὅμως προῆλθε, κατὰ γε τὴν Ἰταλίαν, μέχρι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνεδήσατο Σύλλας· ἐν γὰρ Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ μετὰ Σύλλαν ἐξέτεινεν ἐπὶ πλεῖον. μάχαι δὲ καὶ ἀκροβολαίαι ³ καὶ πολιορκίαι καὶ πολέμων ιδεαὶ πᾶσαι κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀθρόαι τε καὶ κατὰ μέρη τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐγένοντο· πολλαί, καὶ πᾶσαι διαφανεῖς. ὦν τὰ

83. 2 κατήνεγκε, 'brought to the ground.'

βαρυεργῶν, 'quemadmodum ταχύεργος vel ταχυεργῆς (quo verbo plus semel utitur Appianus) est *levis, mobilis, temerarius, fraeceps*; sic e contrario βαρυεργῆς erit *qui non leviter rem tractat, qui serio et studiose rei incumbit, qui anxie et sollicite rem curat*' (Schweigh.).

84. 1 ὀλυμπιάδων, &c. The 174th Olympiad begins at Midsummer 84 B. C., so that Sulla's landing at Brundisium early in 83 B. C. falls in its first year.

² ἐπείγομένοις, 'hurrying as they were to bring the contest to an issue.'

τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνεδήσατο, literally 'crowned himself with,' 'assumed the government.'

μέγιστα καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ φράσαι, τοιαύδε ἦν.

- 4 πρώτη μὲν ἀμφὶ Κανύσιον τοῖς ἀνθυπάτοις πρὸς Νωρβανὸν ἐγίγνετο μάχη· καὶ θνήσκουσι Νωρβανοῦ μὲν ἑξακισχίλιοι, τῶν δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Σύλλαν ἐβδομήκοντα, τραυματῖαι δ' ἐγένοντο πολλοί. καὶ Νωρβανὸς
 85 ἐς Καπύην ἀνέξεν. Σύλλα δὲ καὶ Μετέλλω περὶ τὸ Τεανὸν οὖσι Λεύκιος Σκιπίων ἐπήει μεθ' ἑτέρου στρατοῦ, πάνυ ἀθύμως ἔχοντας καὶ ποθοῦντος εἰρήνην
 2 γενέσθαι. αἰσθόμενοι δ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Σύλλαν πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα περὶ συμβάσεων ἐπρέσβευον, οὐχ οὕτως ἐλπίζοντες ἢ χρῆζοντες, ὥς στασιάσειν προσδοκῶντες αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν [ἀθύμως ἔχοντα]. ὁ καὶ συνηνέχθη
 3 γενέσθαι. Σκιπίων μὲν γὰρ ὄμηρα τῆς συνόδου λαβὼν ἐς τὸ πεδίον κατήει, καὶ συνήεσαν τρεῖς ἑκατέρωθεν, ὅθεν οὐδὲ γινῶναι τὰ λεχθέντα συνέβη· ἐδόκει δ' ἀναθέμενος ὁ Σκιπίων ἐς Νωρβανὸν τὸν σύναρχον περὶ τῶν λελεγμένων πέμψαι Σερτώριον ἀπαγγελοῦντα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ὁ ἑκατέρων ἡσύχαζε, τὰς ἀποκρίσεις
 4 ἀναμένοντες. Σερτωρίου δ' ἐν παρόδῳ Σύεσσαν, ἣ τὰ Σύλλα ἤρητο, καταλαβόντος ὁ μὲν Σύλλας ἡττιᾶτο πέμπων ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα, ὁ δέ, εἴτε τῷ γενομένῳ συνεγνωκώς, εἴτε ἀποκρίσεως ἀπορῶν ὥς ἐπὶ ἀλλοκότῳ δὴ τῷ Σερτωρίου ἔργῳ, τὰ ὄμηρα ἀπέπεμπε τῷ
 5 Σύλλᾳ. καὶ αὐτίκα ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, τῇ τε τῆς Σύεσης ἐν σπονδαῖς ἀλόγῳ καταλήψει καὶ τῇ τῶν ὁμήρων

85. I Τεανόν. This is not the Teanum of Apulia but Teanum Sidicinum on the borders of Latium and Campania. We know from Cicero (Phil. xii. 11. 27) that the conference of Sulla and Scipio took place between Teanum and Cales, which is about five miles on the road to Capua. Sulla must have followed Norbanus across the Apennines from Canusium in Apulia.

3 τὰ λεχθέντα. Cicero (l. c.) says: 'de auctoritate senatus, de suffragiis populi et de iure civitatis leges inter se et conditiones contulerunt.'

4 ὥς ἐπὶ ἀλλοκότῳ, 'ut in re inopinata' (Schweigh.).

οὐκ ἀπαιτουμένων ἀποπέμψει τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔχοντες ἐν αἰτίαις, κρύφα τῷ Σύλλα συνετίθεντο μεταθήσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰ πελάσειεν. καὶ προσιόντος αὐτίκα 6 πάντες ἀθρόως μετέστησαν, ὡς τὸν ὑπατον Σκιπίωνα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Λεύκιον μόνους ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ διηπορημένους Σύλλαν καταλαβεῖν. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τόδε οὐ στρατηγού παθεῖν ὁ Σκιπίων, ἀγνοήσας ὅλου στρατοῦ τοσήνδε συνθήκην.

Σκιπίωνα μὲν δὴ μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς οὐ μεταπείθων 86 ὁ Σύλλας ἀπέπεμπεν ἀπαθῇ. καὶ πρὸς Νωρβανὸν ἐς Καπύην περὶ συμβάσεων ἔπεμπεν ἐτέρους, εἴτε δείσας τῆς πλέονος Ἰταλίας ἔτι τοῖς ὑπάτοις συνισταμένης, εἴτε καὶ ἐς τόνδε καθάπερ ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα τεχνάζων. οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτῷ προσιόντος οὐδ' ἐς ἀπόκρισιν (ὁ γάρ 2 τοι Νωρβανός, ὡς ἔοικε, μὴ διαβληθείη τὰ ὅμοια ἐς τὸν στρατὸν ἔδιδειν) ἀναστήσας Σύλλας ἐχώρει πρόσω, τὰ πολέμια πάντα δηῶν· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Νωρβανὸς ἔπραττε κατ' ἄλλας ὁδοὺς. Κάρβων δὲ ἐς τὸ ἄστυ 3 προδραμὼν Μέτελλόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅσοι ὄντες ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τῷ Σύλλα συνῆσαν, ἐψηφίζετο εἶναι πολεμίους. αἷς ἡμέραις καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐνεπίμ- 4 πρατο· καὶ τὸ ἔργον τινὲς ἐλογοποιοῦν Κάρβωνος ἢ τῶν ὑπάτων ἢ Σύλλα πέμψαντος εἶναι. τὸ δ' ἀκριβὲς

86 3 ἐψηφίζετο εἶναι πολεμίους : cf. note on ch. 65. 4. We learn from Exuperantius, a late writer who drew mainly from Sallust's History, that the 'ultimum senatus consultum' was passed at this time—'timens senatus . . . statuit ut curarent consules (Scipio et Norbanus) ne respublica acciperet detrimentum'; see reference in Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, iii, p. 1243, n. 3. The decree here mentioned by Appian was doubtless passed at the same time. It supplements the general decree, which authorizes the consuls to proceed to acts of war against all public enemies, by specifying the names of some of those enemies. Mommsen points out that, though these decrees of the senate were commonly a weapon of the oligarchy, the democratic party did not scruple to use them when, as on this occasion, they happened to have control of the senate.

ἄδηλον ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἔχω τὴν αἰτίαν ἐγὼ συμβαλεῖν
 5 δι' ἣν ἂν οὕτως ἐγένετο. Σερτώριος δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ
 στρατηγεῖν ἡρημένος Ἰβηρίας, μετὰ τὴν Συνέσεως κατὰ-
 ληψιν ἔφευγεν ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν· καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν προτέ-
 ρων στρατηγῶν οὐ δεχομένων, πολλοὺς ἐνταῦθα καὶ
 6 ὅδε Ῥωμαίοις ἀνεκίνησε πόρους. πλέονος δ' αἰεὶ τοῖς
 ὑπάτοις γιγνομένου στρατοῦ ἀπὸ τε τῆς πλέονος Ἰτα-
 λίας ἔτι σφίσι συνεστῶσης καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμόρου περὶ
 τὸν Ἡριδανὸν Γαλατίας, οὐδ' ὁ Σύλλας ἡμέλει, περι-
 πέμπων ἐς ὅσα δύναιτο τῆς Ἰταλίας, φιλία τε καὶ
 φόβος καὶ χρήμασι καὶ ἐλπίσιν ἀγείρων, μέχρι τὸ λοι-
 πὸν τοῦ θέρους ἑκατέροις ἐς ταῦτα ἀναλώθη.

87 τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους ὕπατοι μὲν ἐγενέσθην Παπί-
 ριός τε Κάρβων αὐθις καὶ Μάριος ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς Μαρίου
 τοῦ περιφανοῦς, ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη γεγονώς· χεიმῶν
 δὲ καὶ κρύος πολὺ γενόμενον ἅπαντας ἀλλήλων διέστη-
 2 σεν. ἀρχομένου δ' ἡρος περὶ τὸν Αἰσῖνον ποταμόν,
 ἐξ ἧος ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν, ἀγὼν καρτερὸς ἐγένετο Με-
 τέλλω τε καὶ Καρρίνῃ Κάρβωνος στρατηγῶ πρὸς ἀλλή-

87. I τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους, 82 B. C. coss. Carbone III. Mario. There are now two main seats of war, Latium where Marius is opposed to Sulla and Ofella, and the north-east of Italy. Carbo has his centre of operations (87. 3) at Ariminum where the Via Aemilia strikes the Adriatic coast, Metellus and Pompey being opposed to him. We hear of fighting to the south of this point on the Aesis (87. 2) and at Sena Gallica (88. 2), but likewise to the northward in Cisalpine Gaul at Ravenna (92. 2) and along the Via Aemilia (at Faventia 91. 1 and at Placentia 92. 2). When Rome had fallen into Sulla's hands, and the relief of Praeneste, where Marius had taken refuge, became the main object of the democrats, Carbo appears to have crossed the Apennines, and his centre of operations shifts to Etruria, Clusium (89. 3 *ἐνθα τοῦ πολέμου τὰ λοιπὰ ἤκμαζεν*), the river Clanis (89. 4), Saturnia (89. 5) and Spolegium (90. 1), which though in Umbria is on the water-basin of the Tiber.

ἀδελφιδοῦς. The consul of this year was really the son, not the nephew, of the great Caius Marius; see ch. 62. 5.

2 Αἰσῖνον ποταμόν. The Aesinus or Aesis forms the boundary on the Adriatic coast between Picenum and Umbria.

λους· καὶ φεύγει μὲν ὁ Καρρίνας πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν,
τὰ δὲ περίοικα πάντα ἐς τὸν Μέτελλον ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπά-
των μετετίθετο. Μέτελλον δὲ Κάρβων καταλαβὼν 3
ἐφρούρει περικαθήμενος, ἔσπε Μάριον τὸν ἕτερον
ὑπατον μεγάλη μάχη περὶ Πραινεστὸν ἡττῆσθαι πυθό-
μενος ἀνεστρατοπέδευεν ἐς Ἀρίμινον. καὶ τοῦδε μὲν 4
Πομπήιος τῆς οὐραγίας ἐξαπτόμενος ἠνώχλει, ἡ δὲ
περὶ Πραινεστὸν ἦσσα ὧδε ἐγένετο. Σύλλα Σήτιον 5
καταλαβόντος, ὁ Μάριος ἀγχοῦ στρατοπεδεύων ὑπ-
εχώρει κατ' ὀλίγον, ὡς δ' ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν καλούμενον
Ἱερὸν λιμένα, ἐξέτασσε ἐς μάχην καὶ ἠγωνίζετο προ-
θύμως. ἀρχομένου δ' ἐνδιδόναι τοῦ λαιοῦ μέρους, 6
σπείραι πέντε πεζῶν καὶ δύο ἱππέων οὐκ ἀναμείναισαι
τὴν τροπὴν ἐκφανῆναι, τὰ τε σημεῖα ἔρριψαν ὁμοῦ
καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν μετετίθεντο. καὶ τόδ' εὐθὺς 7
ἦρχε τῷ Μαρίῳ δυσχεροῦς ἥττης. κοπτόμενοι γὰρ ἐς
Πραινεστὸν ἔφευγον ἅπαντες, ἐπομένου τοῦ Σύλλα
σὺν δρόμῳ. καὶ οἱ Πραινέστιοι τοὺς μὲν πρώτους
αὐτῶν ἐσεδέξαντο, Σύλλα δ' ἐπικειμένου τὰς πύλας
ἀπέκλεισαν καὶ Μάριον καλωδίῳις ἀνιμήσαντο. πολὺς 8
δ' ἄλλος ἐκ τοῦδε περὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐγίγνετο φόνος,
καὶ πλῆθος αἰχμαλώτων ὁ Σύλλας ἔλαβεν, ὧν τοὺς

3 It is not clear where Metellus was blockaded by Carbo; probably it was in northern Picenum. Carbo's retreat to Ariminum marks the abandonment of Picenum by the democrats, and after the capture of Sena (88. 2) by Pompey the Adriatic shore of Umbria is likewise in the hands of the Sullan party. After this the fighting north of the Apennines is mostly confined to Cisalpine Gaul.

5 Setia is in the Volscian mountains of southern Latium and commands the Via Appia leading into Campania. Marius was obliged to fall back northwards towards Praeneste, and his defeat at Sacriportus in the immediate neighbourhood led (ch. 88. 3) to his being blockaded in Praeneste.

6 ἐκφανῆναι, 'not waiting for the panic to declare itself.'

7 καλωδίῳις ἀνιμήσαντο, 'drew him up with cords.'

Σαυνίτας ἔκτεινε πάντας ὡς ἀεὶ χαλεποὺς Ῥωμαίοις γενομένους.

- 88 ταῖς δ' αὐταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ Μέτελλος ἐνίκα ἕτερον Κάρβωνος στρατόν, πέντε κἄνταῦθα σπειρῶν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ σεσωσμένων ἐς Μέτελλον. Πομπηϊὸς τε Μάρκιον ἐνίκα περὶ πόλιν Σήνας, καὶ τὴν πόλιν διήρπαξεν. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας τὸν Μάριον ἐς Πραϊνεστὸν κατακλείσας τὴν πόλιν ἀπετάφρευε καὶ ἀπετείχιζεν ἐκ μακροῦ διαστήματος, καὶ Λουκρήτιον Ὀφέλλαν ἐπέστησε τῷ ἔργῳ, ὡς οὐκέτι μάχῃ παραστησόμενος Μάριον ἀλλὰ λιμῷ. Μάριος δὲ οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἔτι προσδοκῶν, τοὺς ἰδίους ἐχθροὺς ἠπείγετο προανελεῖν, καὶ Βρούτῳ στρατηγούντι τῆς πόλεως ἐπέστελλε (τὴν) σύγκλητον ὡς ἐπὶ τι ἄλλο συναγαγεῖν, καὶ κτεῖναι Πόπλιον Ἀντίστιον καὶ Παπίριον Κάρβωνα ἕτερον καὶ Λεύκιον Δομίτιον καὶ Μούκιον Σκαιόλαν τὸν τὴν μεγίστην Ῥωμαίοις ἱερωσύνην ἱερωμένον. οἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶνδε ἀνῆρέθησαν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, καθὰ Μάριος προσέταξε, τῶν σφαγέων ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσαχθέντων. Δομίτιος δ' ἐκτρέχων παρὰ τὴν ἔξοδον ἀνῆρέθη, καὶ μικρὸν πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου Σκαιόλας. τά τε σώματα αὐτῶν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐρρίφη· ἐπεπόλαζε γὰρ ἤδη μὴ καταθάπτεσθαι τοὺς ἀναιρουμένους. Σύλλας δὲ στρατὸν ἐς Ῥώμην κατὰ μέρη δι' ἐτέρων καὶ ἐτέρων ὁδῶν περιέπεμπεν, ἐντελλόμενος τὰς πύλας καταλαβεῖν, εἰ δὲ ἀποκρουσθεῖεν, ἐπὶ Ὅστια χωρεῖν. τοὺς δὲ αἱ τε πόλεις παροδεύοντας σὺν φόβῳ προσεδέχοντο, καὶ τὸ

88. 2 Μάρκιον, i. e. Censorinus.

Sena Gallica is on the Umbrian coast of the Adriatic; we have seen Pompey co-operating with Metellus in this quarter, ch. 87. 4.

4 Βρούτῳ, &c. Drumann (Junii 53) is undoubtedly right in identifying the *praetor urbanus* with the Damasippus mentioned in ch. 92. 1 and 5. His full name was L. Junius Brutus Damasippus.

ἄστυ προσιοῦσι τὰς πύλας ἀνέωξαν, ὑπὸ τε λιμοῦ πιεζόμενοι, καὶ τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἄρα αἰεὶ τὰ ἐπικρατοῦντα φέρειν ἐθιζόμενοι.

Σύλλας δ' ὥς ἔμαθεν, αὐτίκα ἐπελθὼν τὴν μὲν 89
στρατιὰν ἴδρυσεν πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ,
αὐτὸς δ' ἔσω παρήλθεν, ἐκφυγόντων τῶν ἀντιστασι-
τῶν ἀπάντων. καὶ τὰ μὲν τούτων αὐτίκα ἐδημεύετο 2
καὶ διεπιπράσκετο, τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συν-
αγαγὼν τὴν τε ἀνάγκην τῶν παρόντων ὠλοφύρετο, καὶ
θαρρεῖν προσέταξεν ὥς αὐτίκα τῶνδε παυσομένων καὶ
τῆς πολιτείας ἐς τὸ δέον ἐλευσομένης. διοικησάμενος 3
δ' ὅσα ἤπειγε, καὶ τῇ πόλει τινὰς ἐπιστήσας τῶν
ἑαυτοῦ, ἐξώρμησεν ἐς Κλούσιον, ἔνθα τοῦ πολέμου
τὰ λοιπὰ ἤκμαζεν. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τοῖς ὑπάτοις προσ- 4
εγένοντο ἱππεῖς Κελτίβηρες, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ στρα-
τηγῶν ἀπεσταλμένοι, καὶ γενομένης παρὰ τὸν Γλάνιν
ποταμὸν ἱππομαχίας ὁ μὲν Σύλλας ἐκτείνειν ἐς πεντή-
κοντα τῶν πολεμίων, διακόσιοι δὲ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα
τῶνδε τῶν Κελτιβήρων ἠὲτομόλησαν ἐς Σύλλαν· καὶ
τοὺς λοιποὺς ὁ Κάρβων ἀνείλεν, εἴτε χαλεπήνας τῆς
τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν αὐτομολίας, εἴτε δείσας περὶ ὁμοίου.
τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου περὶ Σατουρνίαν ἐτέρῳ μέρει 5
τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὁ Σύλλας ἐνίκα, καὶ Μέτελλος ἐπὶ Ῥα-
οῦένναν περιπλέων τὴν Οὐριτανὴν χώραν, πεδιάδα καὶ

8 τῶν παρόντων κακῶν, 'accustomed to submit to whichever of the oppressions which beset them might have the most force on its side for the moment.'

89. 4 παρὰ τὸν Γλάνιν ποταμόν. The Clanis is an affluent of the Tiber which flows past Clusium; see note on ch. 87. 1.

5 τὴν Οὐριτανὴν χώραν. Schweigh. seems to acquiesce in Cluverius' (*Ital. Ant.* p. 308) despair of interpreting 'Uritanus ager,' and Didot, Wright and Benecke all follow Schweigh. in so translating. I think that there can be no doubt that the Greek is simply a rendering of *Viritanus* ('*viritanus ager dicitur qui viritim populo distribuitur*,' Festus s.v.). See Mommsen's comments on the *Leg. Agraria* in *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* vol. i. p. 88. Though Mommsen does not refer to this passage of

6 πυροφόροι οὔσαν, προκατελάμβανεν. ἔς τε Νέαν πό-
 λιν ἐκ προδοσίας νυκτὸς ἕτεροι τῶν Συλλείων ἐσελ-
 θόντες ἔκτειναν ἅπαντας χωρὶς ὀλίγων διαφυγόντων,
 7 καὶ τὰς τριήρεις τῆς πόλεως ἔλαβον. αὐτῷ δὲ Σύλλα
 καὶ Κάρβωνι περὶ Κλούσιον ἐξ ἡοῦς ἐπὶ ἐσπέραν
 γίγνεται μάχη καρτερά· καὶ φανέντες ἀλλήλοις ἰσό-
 90 μαχοι μετὰ σκότους διεκρίθησαν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Σπωλη-
 τίῳ πεδίῳ Πομπήιος καὶ Κράστος, ἄμφω Σύλλα στρα-
 τηγοί, κτείνουσι τῶν Καρβωνείων ἐς τρισχιλίους, καὶ
 Καρρίναν τὸν ἀντιστρατηγὸντα σφίσιν ἐπολιόρκουν,
 ἔστε Κάρβων μὲν ἕτερον τῷ Καρρίνῳ στρατὸν ἔπεμ-
 2 ψεν, ὁ δὲ Σύλλας αἰσθόμενος καὶ ἐφεδρεύσας ἔκτεινεν
 αὐτῶν παροδεύοντων ἐς δισχιλίους, καὶ Καρρίνας νυ-
 κτός, ὕδατός τε ὄντος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πολλοῦ καὶ σκό-
 τους, αἰσθομένων μὲν τι τῶν περικαθημένων, διὰ δὲ
 3 τὸν ὄμβρον ἀμελούντων, διέφυγεν. καὶ Κάρβων ἐς
 Πραίνεστον Μαρίῳ τῷ συνάρχῳ Μάρκιον ἔπεμπε
 ὁκτὼ τέλη στρατιᾶς ἄγοντα, πυνθανόμενος αὐτὸν ὑπὸ
 λιμοῦ κακοπαθεῖν· οἷς ὁ Πομπήιος ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἐν

Appian, I think that he must interpret it as I do, for he cites among other instances of *viritanus ager* Cicero, de Sen. 4. 11: 'C. Flaminio tribuno plebis . . . agrum Picentem et Gallicum viritim contra senatus auctoritatem dividenti,' and Cato (apud Varr. de Re Rust. 1. 2. 7): 'ager Gallicus Romanus vocatur, qui viritim cis Ariminum datus est ultra agrum Picentium.' The 'viritanus ager' then which Metellus attacked, using Ravenna as his base of operations, will be the *ager Gallicus* extending along the Umbrian shore of the Adriatic from Ariminum to Ancona and the Aesis, and the *ager Picenus* or *Picens* to the south of this, all of which had been the subject of Flaminius' Agrarian Law of 232 or 228 B.C. See Fischer, *Röm. Zeit-Tafeln ad ann. 232*.

7 μετὰ σκότους, 'cum nocte, ingruente nocte, diremta pugna est' (Schweigh.).

90. 1 Spoletium: see note on ch. 87. 1.

The interest of the war now centres round Praeneste where Marius is blockaded by Sulla's lieutenant Lucretius Ofella. We find in this chapter and in ch. 92 attempts made by Carbo in Etruria to relieve him from the north, while the Samnite leaders press forward with the same object from the south.

στενῷ προσπεσὼν τρέπεται τε καὶ πολλοὺς διαφθείρας
 ἐς λόφον συνέκλεισε τοὺς λοιπούς. ἐξ οὗ Μάρκιος 4
 μὲν οὐ σβέσας τὸ πῦρ ἀπεδίδρασκεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς
 αὐτῷ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐνέδρας προστιθεὶς ἐστασίασε
 χαλεπῶς, καὶ τέλος μὲν ὑπὸ τοῖς σημείοις ὅλον ἄνεν
 παραγγέλματος ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς Ἀρίμινον, οἱ λοιποὶ δ'
 ἐς τὰς πατρίδας κατὰ μέρη διελύθησαν, ὡς ἐπτὰ σπεί-
 ρας τῷ στρατηγῷ μόνας παραμείναι. καὶ Μάρκιος 5
 μὲν ὧδε πράξας κακῶς ἐς Κάρβωνα ἐπανῆει, Μάρκον
 δὲ Λαμπώνιον ἐκ Λευκανίας καὶ Πόντιον Τελεσίνον
 ἐκ τῆς Σαννίτιδος καὶ τὸν Καπυαῖον Γοῦτταν, μεθ'
 ἐπτὰ μυριάδων ἐπειγομένους Μάριον ἐξελεῖσθαι τῆς
 πολιορκίας, ὁ Σύλλας ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς, ἥ μόνῃ διαβατὸν

4 τέλος μὲν, 'one legion.'

ἐπτὰ σπείρας. Censorinus evidently did not accompany the defaulting legion to Ariminum on the shores of the Adriatic, but remained south of the Apennines and joined Carbo (verse 5) in Etruria with seven cohorts which never deserted him.

5 ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς, ἥ μόνῃ διαβατὸν ἦν. I assume that the pass here mentioned has nothing to do with the ἐν στενῷ (apparently in Umbria) where Pompey (verse 3) laid his ambush. On the other hand I suppose it to be the same defile as that referred to in ch. 92. 1 (τὰ στενὰ διελθεῖν) as still occupied by Sulla and vainly attempted by Damasippus, and where in ch. 92. 3 (περὶ τὰ στενά) the Samnite army is encamped facing Sulla. If this identification be correct it seems that these στενά are south of Praeneste, but the spot is difficult to find.

Fernique (*Étude sur Préneſte*, in the 'Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises de Rome et d'Athènes,' 1880) says: 'Il ne me semble pas probable, d'après le texte d'Appian, que Sylla ait été attendre l'ennemi au défilé de San Germano, et de l'autre part dans les environs mêmes de Préneſte il n'y a pas de véritable défilé: on ne peut donner ce nom au val Pepe, qui s'étend dans la direction de Valmonte, ni à la vallée qui s'étend de Palestrina à Cave.'

I have not been able to examine the ground myself, but am indebted for observations to friends in Rome. Mr. G. McN. Rushforth writes: 'By the Pass of San Germano, Fernique means the pass between (the stations of) Anagni and Ferentino on the railway to Naples, where the line follows the course of the Sacco.' It appears that there is a veritable ravine at this point; but the distance (seventeen miles) from Praeneste seems

6 ἦν, ἀπέκλειε τῆς παρόδου. καὶ ὁ Μάριος ἀπογιγνώσκων ἤδη τὰς ἔξωθεν ἐπικουρίας, φρούριον ἐν τῷ μεταιχιμῷ μεγάλῳ ὄντι ἤγειρεν, ἐς ὃ καὶ μηχανὰς καὶ στρατιὰν συναγαγὼν ἐπεχείρει βιάσασθαι τὸν Λουκρήτιον. πολυήμερον δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ποικίλης τῆς πείρας γενομένης, οὐδὲν ἀνύων ἐς Πραινεστὸν αὐθις συνεκλείετο.

91 καὶ περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας ἐν Φαουεντία Κάρβων καὶ Νωρβανὸς ἐξ ὁδοῦ βραχὺ πρὸ ἐσπέρας ἐπὶ τὸ Μέτελλου στρατόπεδον ἐλθόντες, λοιπῆς οὔσης ὥρας μιᾶς καὶ ἀμπέλων πυκνῶν περικειμένων, ἀνοήτως μάλα ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἐς μάχην ἐξέταττον, ἐλπίσαντες Μέτελλον τῷ
2 παραλόγῳ καταπλήξειν. ἡττώμενοι δὲ ὡς ἐν ἀφνειῇ

to me to put this locality out of the question ; besides the pass could, so far as one can judge from the ordnance map, be very easily turned. I am inclined rather to agree with Mr. St. Clair Baddely that Appian's use of the word στενά must not be pressed, and that Sulla blocked the way of the relieving force (advancing up the Via Latina from Campania) at a point about five miles from Praeneste ; the scene of the operations would be between Cave and Valmonte. Mr. Baddely says : ' Up on the breezy high-ground between Cave and a place called Gli Archi, it would be possible to forestall any movement of an enemy endeavouring to relieve Palestrina ; and there would be no good chance of his success if scouts and sentinels were at all smart. Valmonte is an isolated hill five and a half miles from Palestrina and twenty-four and a half miles from Rome. The " Labicana " and the " Latina " joined not far from Valmonte on a spot anciently called AD BIVIVM. . . . The ground lends itself admirably for Sulla's purpose in the vicinity of Valmonte, in fact in such a way as no other locality could have done.'

6 ἐν τῷ μεταιχιμῷ, 'in the interval between Praeneste and the blockading lines.'

μεγάλῳ ὄντι: cf. ch. 88. 3 ; Sulla's lines were ἐκ μακροῦ διαστήματος, probably about five miles ; see note on verse 5.

τὸν Λουκρήτιον, see ch. 88. 3.

91. 1 Faventia is on the Via Aemilia between Ariminum and Bononia. We left Carbo in Etruria (ch. 89. 7) and he appears again at Clusium (ch. 92. 3). Carbo must therefore have made a dash over the Apennines into the valley of the Padus and have re-crossed into the southern region after his defeat.

χωρίῳ τε καὶ ὥρα, καὶ ἐς τὰ φυτὰ ἐμπίπτοντες, ἐφθεί-
 ροντο κατὰ πλήθος, ὥς ἀπολέσθαι μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυ-
 ρίους, αὐτομολῆσαι δ' ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους, καὶ τοὺς λοι-
 πούς διαρριφῆναι, μόνων ἐν τάξει χιλίων ἀπανελθόντων
 ἐς Ἀρρήτιον. τέλος δ' ἄλλο Λευκανῶν ἀγόμενον ὑπὸ 3
 Ἀλβινοουανοῦ, τῆς ἡττης πυθόμενον μετεχώρει πρὸς
 Μέτελλον, δυσχεραίνοντος Ἀλβινοουανοῦ. ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν
 οὐ κατασχὼν τῆς ὁρμῆς αὐτὸ ἐς Νωρβανὸν ἐπανῆλθεν,
 οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ ἡμέραις ὕστερον κρύφα τῷ Σύλλα κοινο- 4
 λογησάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἄδειαν εἴ τι πράξειεν ἀξιό-
 λογον, ἐπὶ ἐστίασιν ἐκάλει Νωρβανόν τε καὶ τοὺς
 συνόντας αὐτῷ στρατηγούς, Γάιον Ἀντίπατρον καὶ
 Φλάουιον Φιμβρίαν, ἀδελφὸν τοῦδε τοῦ περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν
 ἑαυτὸν ἀνελόντος, ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι τῶν Καρβωνείων
 στρατηγοὶ τότε παρῆσαν. ὥς δ' ἀφίκοντο χωρὶς γε 5
 Νωρβανοῦ (μόνος γὰρ οὐκ ἀφίκετο), πάντας αὐτοὺς
 ὁ Ἀλβινοουανὸς ἔκτεινεν ἐπὶ τῆς διαίτης, καὶ ἐς τὸν
 Σύλλαν διέφυγεν. Νωρβανὸς δὲ καὶ Ἀρίμινον ἐπὶ τῇδε 6
 τῇ συμφορᾷ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν πλησίον στρατο-
 πέδων ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν μεταχωρεῖν πυνθανόμενος, τῶν
 τε παρόντων οἱ φίλων οὐδένα ἔτι πιστὸν οὐδὲ βέβαιον
 ὥς ἐν συμφοραῖς τιθέμενος, ἰδιωτικοῦ σκάφους ἐπιβὰς
 ἐς Ῥόδον διέπλευσεν· ὅθεν ὕστερον ἐξαιτούμενος ὑπὸ 7
 τοῦ Σύλλα, Ῥοδίῳ ἔτι ἀμφιγνοούντων, ἑαυτὸν ἐν
 ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ διέφθειρεν.

Κάρβων δὲ ἕτερα δύο τέλη στρατιωτῶν ἐς Πραίνε- 92

2 Ἀρρήτιον. The considerations mentioned in the last note make this a more probable correction of the MS. Ἀρρήγιον, than is Ἀρίμινον which Mend. adopts. We find in verse 6 that Ariminum went over immediately afterwards to Sulla.

3 αὐτό, the legion (τέλος).

4-7 It is not stated where the treacherous banquet of Albinovanus took place, but it seems probable that Norbanus did not recross the Apennines with Carbo, and that the scene is to be laid on the shores of the Adriatic.

4 ἑαυτὸν ἀνελόντος. See note on ch. 75. 2.

92. 1 Whence Damasippus was sent is not clear. We last

- στὸν ἄγειν ἔπεμπε Δαμάσιππον, ὑπερεπειγόμενος Μάρκιον ἐκλῦσαι τῆς πολιορκίας· ἀλλ' οὐδ' οὗτοι τὰ στενὰ
 2 διελθεῖν ἐδύναντο φυλασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλα. Γαλάται τε ὅσοι ἀπὸ Ῥαουέννης ἐπὶ τὰ Ἄλπεια παρήκουσιν, ἀθρόως ἐς Μέτελλον μετετίθεντο· καὶ Λεύκολλος
 3 ἐτέρους τῶν Καρβωνείων ἐνίκα περὶ Πλακεντίαν. ὦν ὁ Κάρβων πυνθανόμενος, τρισμυρίους ὅμως ἔτι ἔχων περὶ τὸ Κλούσιον, καὶ δύο τέλη τὰ Δαμασίππου καὶ ἕτερα περὶ Καρρίναν καὶ Μάρκιον, Σαννιτῶν τε αὐτῶ χειρὶ πολλῇ προθύμως περὶ τὰ στενὰ κακοπαθούτων, ἀπογνοὺς ἀπάντων ἀσθενῶς ἔφευγε σὺν τοῖς φίλοις ἐς Λιβύην ἐξ Ἰταλίας, ὕπατος ἔτι ὢν, ὡς Λιβύην παρα-
 4 στησόμενος ἀντὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας. τῶν δ' ὑπολειφθέντων οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸ Κλούσιον Πομπηίῳ συνενεχθέντες ἐς μάχην ἀπέβαλον ἐς δισμυρίους, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ μεγίστῃ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦδε τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐς τὰς πατρί-
 5 δας κατὰ μέρη διελύθη· Καρρίνας δὲ καὶ Μάρκιος καὶ

heard of him (under his other name Brutus) as the agent of massacres in Rome (ch. 88. 4). It would be most natural to suppose that when Sulla occupied Rome Damasippus retreated northwards to join Carbo in Etruria, and that he now came from the north. If so, we are not informed by what strategy he found himself at the στενά south of Praeneste. There is the same obscurity as to how Carrinas, whom we last heard of (90. 1) at Spolegium, and Marcius Censorinus, who had rejoined Carbo (90. 5), placed themselves at the same point (verse 5) alongside of the Samnites.

2 Placentia: see note on ch. 87. 1.

3 After the sudden shifting of the scene in verse 2 to Cisalpine Gaul we here return to Etruria and Latium (Clusium and Praeneste). All the remaining democratic leaders, Carbo, Damasippus, Carrinas, Censorinus seem now to have crossed to this side of the Apennines.

κακοπαθούτων, 'Samnitium magnam manum graviter angustias perrumpere conantium' (Schweigh.).

5 On the flight of Carbo to Africa and the defeat and dispersal of his army at Clusium, the detachments which he had sent (verse 1) to the relief of Praeneste, and which were all now south of the Tiber, effected a junction with the Samnites, but were unable to force the στενά.

Δαμάσιππος, οἷς εἶχον ἅπασιν, ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ ἐχώρουν
 ὡς ὁμοῦ τοῖς Σαυνίταις βιασόμενοι πάντως αὐτὰ περᾶ-
 σαι. οὐ δυνηθέντες δὲ οὐδ' ὥς, ἐφέροντο ἐς Ῥώμην 6
 ὡς ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν καὶ τροφῶν ἅμα καταληψόμενοι τὸ
 ἄστυ, καὶ πρὸ σταδίων ἑκατὸν ἐστρατοπέδευον ἀμφὶ
 τὴν Ἀλβανῶν γῆν. δείσας οὖν ὁ Σύλλας περὶ τῇ πόλει, 93
 τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας προύπεμψε κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐνοχλεῖν
 αὐτοῖς ὁδεύουσιν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπειχθεὶς ἀθρόω τῷ στρατῷ
 παρὰ ταῖς Κολλίταις πύλαις περὶ μεσημβρίαν ἐστρατο-
 πέδευσεν, ἀμφὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν, ἥδη καὶ τῶν
 πολεμίων περὶ τὴν πόλιν στρατοπεδευνόντων. μάχης δ' 2
 εὐθὺς αὐτοῖς περὶ δεῖλιν ἐσπέραν γενομένης, τῷ μὲν
 δεξιῷ Σύλλας ἐκράτει, τὸ δὲ λαὸν ἠττώμενον ἐπὶ τὰς
 πύλας κατέφυγεν. οἱ δὲ γέροντες ὄντες ἐπὶ τῶν τει- 3
 χῶν, ὡς εἶδον αὐτοῖς συνεστρέχοντας τοὺς πολεμίους,
 τὰς πύλας καθῆκαν ἀπὸ μηχανῆς· αἱ δ' ἐμπίπτουσαι
 πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ διέφθειραν πολλοὺς δ'
 ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ὑπὸ δέους καὶ ἀνάγκης
 ἀνέστρεφον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ νυκτὸς ὅλης ἀγωνι-
 σάμενοι πολλὸν πλῆθος ἔκτειναν. ἔκτειναν δὲ καὶ τῶν 4
 στρατηγῶν Τελεσίνον τε καὶ Ἀλβίνον, καὶ τὰ στρατό-
 πεδα αὐτῶν ἔλαβον. Λαμπώνιος τε ὁ Λευκανὸς καὶ
 Μάρκιος καὶ Καρρίνας, ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ τῆς
 Καρβωνείου στάσεως αὐτοῖς συνῆσαν, διέφυγον. καὶ 5
 θάνατος ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ ἔργου πέντε μυριάδων ἐδόκει

93. I Sulla's interposition saved Rome from the sudden attack of the Samnites, whom he defeated at the Colline Gate. If the two armies were encamped in the neighbourhood of Valmonte (note on ch. 90. 5) the Samnites would naturally march on Rome by the Via Latina, Sulla retaining command of the Labicana and Praenestina.

3 καθῆκαν, 'they let down the portcullis by engines.' See the description of the water-gate of Pompeii in Smith's *Dict. Ant.* s.v. 'Porta.' This gateway consists of a long passage or barbican, at the inner end of which are folding doors, while the outer end is barred by a portcullis.

γενέσθαι παρ' ἀμφοτέρων. τὰ τε αἰχμάλωτα ὀκτακισχιλίων πλείω γενόμενα Σύλλας, ὅτι Σαννῖται τὸ πλεόν
 6 ἦν, κατηκόντισεν. μετὰ δὲ μίαν ἡμέραν αὐτῷ καὶ Μάρκιος καὶ Καρρίνας ἀλόντες προσήγοντο· καὶ οὐδὲ τῶνδε φειδόμενος οἶα Ῥωμαίων, ἔκτεινεν ἄμφω, καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐς Πραϊνεστὸν Λουκρητίῳ περὶ τὰ τείχη περιενεγκεῖν ἔπεμψεν.

- 94 Πραϊνέστιοι δὲ καὶ τάδε θεώμενοι, καὶ τὸν Κάρβωνος στρατὸν ἀπολωλέναι πάντα πυνθανόμενοι, αὐτόν τε Νωρβανὸν ἤδη φυγεῖν ἐξ Ἰταλίας, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν καὶ Ῥώμην ἐπ' αὐτῇ Σύλλαν ἐκτενῶς κεχειρῶσθαι, τὴν πόλιν τῷ Λουκρητίῳ παρέδωκαν, Μαρίου καταδύντος ἐς τάφρους ὑπονόμους, καὶ μετὰ βραχὺ καὶ
 2 ἀνελόντος ἑαυτόν. Λουκρήτιος μὲν δὴ Μαρίου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκτεμὼν ἔπεμπεν ἐς Σύλλαν· καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Σύλλας ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων θέμενος ἐπιγελάσαι λέγεται τῇ νεότητι τοῦ ὑπάτου, καὶ εἰπεῖν “ἐρέτην δεῖ
 3 πρῶτα γενέσθαι πρὶν πηδαλίοις ἐπιχειρεῖν.” Λουκρήτιος δ' ἐπεὶ Πραϊνεστὸν εἶλε, τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐνταῦθα Μαρίῳ στρατηγούντων τοὺς μὲν αὐτίκα ἀνῆρει, τοὺς δ' ἐς φυλακὴν ἐσέβαλλεν· οὓς ὁ Σύλλας ἐπελθὼν ἀν-
 4 εἶλεν. καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πραϊνεστῷ προσέταξε χωρὶς ὄπλων προελθεῖν ἅπαντας ἐς τὸ πεδῖον, καὶ προελθόντων τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτῷ τι χρησίμους γενομένους, ὀλίγους πάμπαν, ἐξείλετο, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἐς τρία ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διαστήναι, Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ Σαννίτας καὶ Πραι-
 5 νεστίους, ἐπεὶ δὲ διέστησαν, τοῖς μὲν Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεκήρυξεν ὅτι καὶ οἶδε ἄξια θανάτου δεδράκασιν, καὶ συγγνώμην ἔδωκεν ὅμως, τοὺς δὲ ἐτέρους κατηκόντισεν ἅπαντας· γυναῖκα δ' αὐτῶν καὶ παῖδιά μεθήκεν ἀπαθείς ἀπιέναι. καὶ τὴν πόλιν διήρπαξε, πολυχρήματον ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τότε οὔσαν.
- 6 ὣδε μὲν δὴ καὶ Πραϊνεστὸς ἐάλω, Νῶρβα δ' ἐτέρα πόλις ἀντεῖχεν ἔτι ἐγκρατῶς, ἔστε Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου

νυκτὸς εἰς αὐτὴν ἐκ προδοσίας ἐσελθόντος διαγανακτῆ-
σαντες οἱ ἔνδον ἐπὶ τῇ προδοσίᾳ, οἱ μὲν ἑαυτοὺς ἀνῆρουν,
οἱ δ' ἀλλήλους ἐκόντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ βρόχοις συνεπλέκοντο.
καὶ τὰς θύρας ἐνέφραττον ἕτεροι, καὶ ἐνεπίμπρασαν. 7
ἄνεμός τε πολὺς ἐμπесὼν εἰς τοσοῦτον αὐτὴν ἐδαπάνησεν
ὥς μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως λάφυρον γενέσθαι.

καὶ οἷδε μὲν οὕτως ἐγκρατῶς ἀπέθανον, ἡνυσμέ- 95
νων δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πολέμοις καὶ πυρὶ καὶ
φόνῳ πολλῷ, οἱ μὲν τοῦ Σύλλα στρατηγοὶ τὰς πόλεις
ἐπιόντες τὰ ὑποπτα ἐφρούρουν, καὶ Πομπήιος ἔς τε
Λιβύην ἐπὶ Κάρβωνα καὶ εἰς Σικελίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ
Κάρβωνος φίλους ἐστέλλετο· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Σύλλας Ῥω- 2
μαίους εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν πολλὰ ἐμεγαληγόρησεν
ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ, καὶ φοβερὰ εἰς κατάπληξιν εἶπεν ἕτερα, καὶ
ἐπήνεγκεν ὅτι τὸν μὲν δῆμον εἰς χρηστὴν ἄξει μετα-
βολήν, εἰ πείθονται οἱ, τῶν δ' ἐχθρῶν οὐδενὸς εἰς ἔσχα-
τον κακοῦ φείσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἢ ταμίας
ἢ χιλιάρχους, ἢ ὅσοι τι συνέπραξαν ἄλλοι τοῖς πολε-
μίοις μεθ' ἣν ἡμέραν Σκιπίων ὁ ὕπατος οὐκ ἐνέμεινε
τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀμολογημένοις, μετελεύσεσθαι κατὰ
κράτος. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν αὐτίκα βουλευτὰς εἰς τεσσαρά- 3
κοντα καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων ἀμφὶ χιλίους καὶ
ἑξακοσίους ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προύγραφεν. οὗτος γὰρ δοκεῖ
πρῶτος οὓς ἐκόλασε θανάτῳ προγράψαι, καὶ γέρα τοῖς
ἀναιρουῦσι καὶ μῆνυτρα τοῖς ἐλέγχουσι καὶ κολάσεις
τοῖς κρύπτουσιν ἐπιγράψαι. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ βουλευτὰς
ἄλλους αὐτοῖς προσετίθει. καὶ τῶνδε οἱ μὲν ἀδοκῆτως 4
καταλαμβανόμενοι διεφθείροντο ἔνθα συνελαμβάνοντο,
ἐν οἰκίαις ἢ στενωποῖς ἢ ἱεροῖς, οἱ δὲ μετέωροι πρὸς
τὸν Σύλλαν φερόμενοί τε καὶ πρὸ ποδῶν αὐτοῦ ῥιπτού-

94. 6 ἐκόντες, 'by consent' (Benecke).

συνεπλέκοντο, 'strangled themselves in company'; cf. Soph.
O. T. 1264 πλεκταῖσιν αἰώραισιν ἐμπεπλεγμένην.

95. 4 μετέωροι, 'were carried off and brought to Sulla.'

μενοι· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐσύροντο καὶ κατεπατοῦντο, οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἔτι τῶν θεωμένων οὐδενὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῖσδε κακοῖς
 5 ἔχοντος ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως. ἐξέλασίς τε ἐτέρων ἦν, καὶ δήμευσις τῶν ἐτέροις ὄντων. ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἐκφυγόντας ζητηταὶ πάντα μαστεύοντες διέθεον, καὶ ὅσους αὐτῶν λάβοιεν ἀνήρουν.

- 96 πολλὴ δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ἀναίρεσίς τε καὶ ἐξέλασις καὶ δήμευσις ἦν, ὅσοι τι Κάρβωνος ἢ Νωρβανοῦ ἢ Μαρίου ἢ τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνοις στρατηγούντων ὑπήκουσαν. κρίσεις τε ἦσαν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὅλην πικραὶ καὶ ἐγκλήματα ποικίλα, στρατηγίας ἢ στρατείας ἢ ἐσφορᾶς χρημάτων ἢ ἄλλης ὑπηρεσίας ἢ βουλευσεως ὅλως κατὰ Σύλλα. ἐγκλήματα δ' ἦν καὶ ξενία καὶ φιλία καὶ δάνεισμα, λαβόντος ἢ δόντος. ἤδη δέ τις καὶ προθυμίας ἢ μόνης συνοδίας ἠλίσκετο. καὶ ταῦτ' ἤκμαζε
 3 μάλιστα κατὰ τῶν πλουσίων. ὥς δ' ἐξέλιπε τὰ καθ' ἓνα [ἄνδρα ἐγκλήματα], ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις ὁ Σύλλας μετῆει, καὶ ἐκόλαζε καὶ τάσδε, τῶν μὲν ἀκροπόλεις κατασκάπτων ἢ τείχη καθαιρῶν, ἢ κοινὰς ζημίας ἐπιτιθεῖς, ἢ
 4 ἐσφοραῖς ἐκτρύχων βαρυτάταις· ταῖς δὲ πλείοσι τοὺς ἑαυτῷ στρατευσαμένους ἐπώκιζεν ὥς ἔξων φρούρια κατὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας, τὴν τε γῆν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα
 5 ἐς τοῦσδε μεταφέρων διεμέριζεν. ὁ καὶ μάλιστα' αὐτοὺς εὖνους αὐτῷ καὶ τελευτήσαντι ἐποίησεν· ὥς γὰρ οὐχ ἔξοντες αὐτὰ βεβαίως εἰ μὴ πάντ' εἴη τὰ Σύλλα βέβαια, ὑπερηγωνίζοντο αὐτοῦ καὶ μεταστάντος.
 6 καὶ τότε μὲν ἦν ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, Κάρβωνα δ' ἐκ Λιβύης ἐς Σικελίαν μετὰ πολλῶν ἐπιφανῶν, καὶ

96. 3 ἐσφοραῖς. There is no trace of any permanent taxes imposed on Italian communities. Cicero (pro Domo, 30. 79) mentions only confiscations of the land of certain *civitates* by Sulla. It is possible that (as Professor Pelham has suggested to me) these confiscations may be indicated by the more general word *ζημίας*, and that the ἐσφοραῖ are money-fines: we have in ch. 100. 7 γῆν . . . τὴν δὲ τὰς πόλεις ἀφαιρουμένος ἐπὶ ζημίᾳ.

ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐς Κοσσύραν νῆσον ὑποφεύγοντα, πέμψας
τινὰς ὁ Πομπήιος συνέλαβεν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους τοῖς 7
ἄγουσιν ἐκέλευσεν οὐδ' ἐς ὄψιν οἱ προσαχθέντας ἀν-
ελεῖν, Κάρβωνα δὲ παραστησάμενος αὐτοῦ τοῖς ποσὶ
δεσμώτην τρις ὕπατον ἐπεδημηγόρησε καὶ κατέκανε,
καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς Σύλλαν ἔπεμψεν.

ὁ δ', ἐπεὶ οἱ πάντα ὡς ἐβούλετο ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς 97
διώκητο, καὶ πολέμιον οὐδὲν ἦν ἔτι πλὴν Σερτωρίου
μακρὰν ὄντος, Μέτελλον μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἐξέπεμπεν ἐς
Ἰβηρίαν, τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει καθίστατο ἅπαντα ἐφ' ἑαυ-
τοῦ, καθ' ὃν ἐβούλετο τρόπον. νόμου γὰρ ἢ χειροτο- 2
νίας ἢ κλήρου λόγος οὐκ ἦν ἔτι, πεφρικότων ὑπὸ δέους
πάντων καὶ κρυπτομένων ἢ σιωπώντων· οἱ καὶ πάντα
ὅσα διώκησεν ὁ Σύλλας ὑπατεύων τε καὶ ἀνθυπατεύων,
βέβαια καὶ ἀνεύθυνα ἐψηφίζοντο εἶναι, εἰκόνα τε αὐ-
τοῦ ἐπίχρυσον ἐπὶ ἵππου πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἀνέθεσαν,
καὶ ὑπέγραψαν Κορνηλίου Σύλλα ἡγεμόνος εὐτυχοῦς.
ὧδε γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ κόλακες, διευτυχοῦντα ἐπὶ τοῖς 3
ἐχθροῖς, ὠνόμαζον· καὶ προῆλθεν ἐς βέβαιον ὄνομα ἢ
κολακεία. ἤδη δέ που γραφῇ περιέτυχον ἡγουμένη τὸν 4
Σύλλαν ἐπαφρόδιτον ἐν τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι ἀναγρα-
φῆναι, καὶ οὐκ ἀπεικὸς ἐφαίνεται μοι καὶ τόδε, ἐπεὶ
καὶ φαῦστος ἐπωνομάζετο· δύναται δὲ τοῦ αἰσίου καὶ
ἐπαφροδίτου ἀγχοτάτω μάλιστα εἶναι τὸ ὄνομα. ἔστι 5

97. 4 ἡγουμένη, 'I have somewhere come across a document which states that Sulla is styled "Epaphroditus" in this decree, and this seems to me not unnatural, for he had the name of Faustus, and the titles of Well-starred and Fortune's Favourite have almost the same force.' Liddell and Scott, ad voc. ἐπαφρόδιτος, point out that the metaphor is from the dice. Cp. Hor. Od. 2. 7. 25: 'quem Venus arbitrum Dicet bibendi?'

If Appian be correct, the name of Faustus borne by his son (ch. 106. 5) must have been first conferred on the dictator himself. All other authorities tend to confirm Plutarch's statement that Sulla's children alone bore the names of Faustus and Fausta, while he himself is styled 'Felix' in Latin and 'Epaphroditus' in Greek.

δ' ὅπου καὶ χρησμὸς αὐτῷ δοθεὶς ἐβεβαίον τάδε, σκεπτομένῳ τὰ μέλλοντα.

πεῖθέο μοι, Ῥωμαῖε. κράτος μέγα Κύπρις ἔδωκεν
Αἰνείου γενεῇ μεμελημένη. ἀλλὰ σὺ πᾶσιν
ἀθανάτοις ἐπέτεια τίθει. μὴ λήθεο τῶνδε.
Δελφοῖς δῶρα κόμιζε. καὶ ἔστι τις ἀμβαίνουσιν
Ταύρου ὑπὸ νιφόεντος, ὅπου περιμήκετον ἄστν
Καρῶν, οἱ ναίουσιν ἐπώνυμον ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης
καὶ πέλεκυν θέμενος λήψη κράτος ἀμφιλαφές σοι.

6 ὁπότερα δ' αὐτῶν ἐψηφίσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν εἰκόνα
τιθέντες, δοκοῦσί μοι παρασκώπτουντες ἢ ἐκμειλισσό-
μενοι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπιγράψαι. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ στέφανον
χρυσοῦν καὶ πέλεκυν, ἐπιγράψας τάδε·

τόνδε σοι αὐτοκράτωρ Σύλλας ἀνέθηκ', Ἀφροδίτη,
ὡς εἶδον κατ' ὄνειρον ἀνὰ στρατιὴν διέπουσαν
τεύχεσι τοῖς Ἄρεος μαρναμένην ἔνοπλον.

98 ὁ δὲ ἔργῳ βασιλεὺς ὢν ἢ τύραννος, οὐχ αἰρετὸς
ἀλλὰ δυνάμει καὶ βία, δεόμενος δ' ἄρα καὶ τοῦ προσ-
ποιήματος αἰρετὸς εἶναι δοκεῖν, ὥδε καὶ τότε ἐμηχα-
2 νήσατο. Ῥωμαίοις πάλαι κατ' ἀρετὴν ἦσαν οἱ βασι-
λεῖς· καὶ ὁπότε τις αὐτῶν ἀποθάνοι, βουλευτὴς ἕτερος
παρ' ἕτερον ἐπὶ πέντε ἡμέρας ἦρχεν, ἕως τινὰ ἄλλον
ὁ δῆμος δοκιμάσειε βασιλεύειν. καὶ τόνδε τὸν πενθῆ-
μερον ἄρχοντα ιντέρρηγα ἐκάλουν· εἴη δ' ἂν ἐν τοσῷδε
3 βασιλεύς. ἀρχαιρέσια δ' ὑπάτων οἱ λήγοντες τῆς
ἀρχῆς αἰὲς προτιθέσαν· καὶ εἴ ποτε κατὰ συντυχίαν
ὑπατος οὐκ εἴη, ὅδε ὁ ἐν τοσῷδε βασιλεὺς καὶ τότε
4 ἐγίγνετο ἐς τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων χειροτονίαν. τούτου δὲ
τοῦ ἔθους ἐπιβαίνων ὁ Σύλλας, ὑπάτων οὐκ ὄντων
ἐπεὶ καὶ Κάρβων ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ Μάριος κατὰ Πραι-
νεστὸν ἐτεθνήκεσαν, αὐτὸς μὲν που τῆς πόλεως ὑπ-

5 περιμήκετον, 'wide-spreading.'

θέμενος, 'dedicating an axe to her.'

98. 2 εἴη δ' ἂν, &c., 'the word may be rendered king for an interval.'

4 τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξήλθε, 'Sulla retired from the city' until his election as dictator was completed. If we compare this account

ἐξηλθε, τη δὲ βουλῇ προσέταξεν ἐλέσθαι τὸν καλού-
 μενον μεταξὺ βασιλέα. ἡ μὲν δὴ Οὐαλέριον Φλάκκον 5
 εἴλετο, ἐλπίσασα ὑπάτων προτεθήσεται χειροτονίαν.
 ὁ δὲ Σύλλας ἐπέστελλε τῷ Φλάκκῳ γνώμην ἐς τὸν
 δῆμον ἐσενεγκεῖν, ὅτι χρήσιμον ἡγοῖτο Σύλλας ἐν τῷ
 παρόντι ἔσθαι τῇ πόλει τὴν ἀρχὴν οὓς ἐκάλουν
δικτάτορας, παυσάμενον ἔθος ἐκ τετρακοσίων ἐτῶν
 ὃν δὲ ἔλοιτο, ἐκέλευεν ἄρχειν οὐκ ἐς χρόνον ῥητόν,
 ἀλλὰ μέχρι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν
 ὅλην στάσεσι καὶ πολέμοις σεσαλευμένην στηρίσειεν.
 ὁ μὲν δὴ νοῦς τὴν γνώμην ἐς αὐτὸν ἔφερε τὸν Σύλ- 6
 λαν, καὶ οὐδ' ἀμφίβολον ἦν. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας οὐ κατα-
 σχὼν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐν τέλει τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἀνεκά-
 λυπτεν, ὅτι οἱ δοκοίη μάλιστ' ἂν αὐτὸς τῇ πόλει
 καὶ ἐν τῷδε γενέσθαι χρήσιμος. ὁ μὲν δὴ τάδε ἐπέ- 99
 στελλε, 'Ρωμαῖοι δ' οὐχ ἐκόντες μὲν οὐδὲ κατὰ νόμον
 ἔτι χειροτονοῦντες οὐδέν, οὐδ' ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἡγούμενοι
 τὸ ἔργον ὅλως, ἐν δὲ τῇ πάντων ἀπορία τὴν ὑπόκρισιν
 τῆς χειροτονίας ὡς ἐλευθερίας εἰκόνα καὶ πρόσχημα
 ἀσπασάμενοι, χειροτονοῦσι τὸν Σύλλαν ἐς ὅσον θέλοι
τύραννον αὐτοκράτορα. τυραννὶς μὲν γὰρ ἢ τῶν 2
 δικτατόρων ἀρχὴ καὶ πάλαι, ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ ὀριζομένη

of Sulla's formal scrupulousness with Appian's general statement in ch. 82. 5 *μόναρχον* *ἐαυτὸν ἀπέφηνεν*, we shall be less inclined to press too literally what he says of Cinna in ch. 77. C.

5 *ἐκ τετρακοσίων ἐτῶν*. The last dictatorship was in 202 B. C., 120 years ago; but it is doubtful whether this is a blunder of Appian, or whether the text is corrupt.

6 ὁ μὲν δὴ νοῦς, 'men understood the advice as referring to Sulla himself, and indeed it was plain enough: but Sulla, unable to remain master of his secret, revealed it &c.' *αὐτοῦ* (Schweigh.) is the proposition, already implied and now expressly mentioned, 'I am the proper man for the post.' Mend. reads *αὐτοῦ*, 'unable to restrain himself.' See Schweigh, note on Appian, *Rom. Hist. Praefatio*, ch. 9.

99. I *τύραννον αὐτοκράτορα*: cf. Cicero, cont. Rull. iii. 2. 5 'Omnium legum iniquissimam dissimillimamque legis esse arbitror illam, quam L. Flaccus interrex de Sulla tulit ut omnia,

τότε δὲ πρῶτον ἐς ἀόριστον ἐλθοῦσα τυραννὶς ἐγί-
 3 γνετο ἐντελής. τοσόνδε μέντοι προσέθεσαν ἐς εὐπρέ-
 πειαν τοῦ ρήματος, ὅτι αὐτὸν αἰροῖντο δικτάτορα ἐπὶ
 θέσει νόμων ὧν αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ δοκιμάσειε, καὶ
 4 καταστήσει τῆς πολιτείας. οὕτω μὲν δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι βα-
 σιλεύσιν ὑπὲρ τὰς ἐξήκοντα ὀλυμπιάδας χρησάμενοι,
 ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνοις δημοκρατία τε καὶ ὑπάτοις ἐτησίοις
προστίθεται ἐς ἄλλας ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάδας, αὐθις ἐπει-
 ρῶντο βασιλείας, ὀλυμπιάδων οὓτων ἐν Ἑλλασιν ἑκα-
 τὸν ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε, καὶ οὐδενὸς ἐν Ὀλυμπία τότε
 ἀγωνίσματος πλὴν σταδίου δρόμου γιγνομένου· τοὺς
 γὰρ ἀθλητὰς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα θεάματα πάντα ὁ Σύλλας
 ἐς Ῥώμην μετεκέκλητο ἐπὶ δόξῃ τῶν Μιθριδατείων ἔρ-
 γων ἢ τῶν Ἰταλικῶν. πρόφασις δ' ἦν ἀναπνεῦσαι
 καὶ ψυχαγωγῆσαι τὸ πλῆθος ἐκ καμάτων.

100 ὁ δ' ἐς μὲν πρόσχημα τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας ὑπά-
 τούς αὐτοῖς ἐπέτρεψεν ἀποφῆναι, καὶ ἐγένοντο Μάρκος
 Τύλλιος καὶ Κορνήλιος Δολοβέλλας· αὐτὸς δ', οἷα δὴ
 2 βασιλεύων, δικτάτωρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἦν. πελέκει
 τε γὰρ ἐφέροντο πρὸ αὐτοῦ, οἷα δικτάτορος, ἑκοσι
 καὶ τέσσαρες, ὅσοι καὶ τῶν πάλαι βασιλέων ἡγοῦντο,
 3 καὶ φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος περιέθετο πολλήν. νόμους
 τε ἐξέλεγε, καὶ ἐτέρους ἐτίθετο· καὶ στρατηγεῖν ἀπέιπε
 πρὶν ταμιεῦσαι, καὶ ὑπατεύειν πρὶν στρατηγῆσαι, καὶ
 τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν αὐτὴν αὐθις ἄρχειν ἐκώλυσε πρὶν ἔτη

quaecumque ille fecisset, essent rata. Nam quum ceteris in civitatibus, tyrannis institutis, leges omnes exstinguantur atque tollantur, hic reipublicae tyrannum lege constituit.

3 καταστήσει, 'Dictator reipublicae constituendae.'

4 ὀλυμπιάδων. Sulla's dictatorship begins with the *Lex Valeria* in 82 B. C. and ends with his resignation in 79 B. C. The beginning of the 175th Olympiad (June 80 B. C.) thus falls within it.

100. 1 B. C. 81 coss. Tullio, Dolabella.

3 στρατηγεῖν ἀπέιπε, &c. Sulla's *leges annales* also provided for a fixed minimum of age for each office, thirty for quaestorship, thirty-nine for praetorship, forty-two for consulship; see Mom. *Staatsrecht*, i³, p. 569 seq.

δέκα διαγενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχὴν ἴσα 4
καὶ ἀνείλεν, ἀσθενεστάτην ἀποφύνας, καὶ νόμῳ κωλύ-
σας μηδεμίαν ἄλλην τὸν δήμαρχον ἀρχὴν ἔτι ἄρχειν·
διὸ καὶ πάντες οἱ δόξης ἢ γένους ἀντιποιοῦμενοι τὴν
ἀρχὴν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἐξετρέποντο. καὶ οὐκ ἔχω σαφῶς
εἰπεῖν εἰ Σύλλας αὐτήν, καθὰ νῦν ἐστίν, ἐς τὴν βου-
λὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου μετένεγκεν. αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ βουλῇ, 5
διὰ τὰς στάσεις καὶ τοὺς πολέμους πάμπαν ὀλιγα-
δρούση, προσκατέλεξεν ἀμφὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους ἐκ τῶν
ἀρίστων ἱππέων, ταῖς φυλαῖς ἀναδούς ψῆφον περὶ

4 τὴν δὲ τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχὴν ἴσα καὶ ἀνείλεν. The most important of Sulla's attacks on the tribunate, the abolition namely of their free right to initiate bills before the *plebs*, has been already dealt with; see ch. 59. 3. Sulla's action is described by Cicero (de Leg. iii. 9. 22) 'Tribunis plebis sua lege iniuriæ faciendæ potestatem ademit, auxilii ferendi reliquit,' and by Caesar (Bell. Civ. i. 7. 3) 'Sullam nudata omnibus rebus tribunicia potestate intercessionem tamen liberam reliquisse.' There is some difficulty as regards this last point, for we find that Verres as praetor fined an ex-tribune 'quod intercessisset contra legem Corneliam' (in Verr. i. 50. 155). Caesar's authority seems conclusive against the supposition that the tribune was subject to any general responsibility for the use of his veto, but Sulla may very likely have forbidden interference in some specified case, possibly some judicial act of a praetor, and this may account for the action of Verres. We find a similar special prohibition in the *Lex Acilia*, verse 70 (Bruns⁶ iii. 10), and again in C. Gracchus' law on the assignment of provinces to the consuls; Cicero, de Prov. Cons. 8. 17.

οὐκ ἔχω . . . εἰπεῖν. There is, of course, no ground for this conjecture that Sulla may have transferred the elections to the senate.

5 ψῆφον περὶ ἐκάστων. We are not to understand that the senators were elected. The people only voted 'yes' or 'no' on Sulla's nominations.

It is curious that neither Appian nor any other historian before Tacitus (Ann. xi. 22. 9) mentions that Sulla invented a self-acting arrangement by which every one of the twenty quaestors annually elected passed into the senate on the expiry of his year of office without the intervention of the censor.

The account in this chapter of Sulla's legislation is very imperfect, omitting amongst other things the abolition of corn-distributions, the transfer of the *iudicia* from the knights to the senate, the extension of criminal jury courts, and the reorganization of provincial commands.

- 6 ἐκάστου. τῷ δὲ δήμῳ τοὺς δούλους τῶν ἀνηρημένων τοὺς νεωτάτους τε καὶ εὐρώστους, μυρίων πλείους, ἐλευθερώσας ἐγκατέλεξε, καὶ πολίτας ἀπέφηνε Ῥωμαίων, καὶ Κορινθίους ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσεῖπεν, ὅπως ἐτοίμοις ἐκ τῶν δημοτῶν πρὸς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα μυρίοις
- 7 χρῶτο. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπινοῶν, τέλεσι τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ στρατευσαμένοις τρισὶ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐπένειμεν, ὥς μοι προεῖρηται, πολλὴν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι γῆν, τὴν μὲν ἔτι οὖσαν ἀνέμητον, τὴν δὲ τὰς πόλεις ἀφαιρούμενος ἐπὶ ζημίᾳ.
- 101 ἐς ἅπαντα δ' ἦν οὕτω φοβερὸς καὶ ἄκρος ὀργὴν ὥς καὶ Κόιντον Λουκρήτιον Ὀφέλλαν τὸν Πραίνεστον αὐτῷ λαβόντα καὶ Μάριον τὸν ὕπατον ἐκπεπολιορκηκότα καὶ τὸ τέλος αὐτῷ τῆς νίκης συναγαγόντα, ὑπατεύειν ἔτι ἱππέα ὄντα, πρὶν ταμιεῦσαι καὶ στρατηγῆσαι, διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν εἰργασμένων κατὰ παλαιὸν ἔθος ἀξιούντα, καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν δεόμενον, ἐπεὶ κωλύων καὶ ἀνατιθέμενος οὐ μετέπειθεν, ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ
- 2 κτεῖναι. καὶ συναγαγὼν τὸ πλῆθος ἐς ἐκκλησίαν εἶπεν “ἴστε μὲν ὧ ἄνδρες, καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἀκούσατε, ὅτι
- 3 Λουκρήτιον ἐγὼ κατέκανον ἀπειθούντά μοι.” καὶ λόγον εἶπε “φθεῖρες γεωργὸν ἀροτριῶντα ὑπέδακνον· ὃ δὲ δις μὲν” ἔφη “τὸ ἄροτρον μεθεὶς τὸν χιτωνίσκον ἐκάθηρεν, ὥς δ' αὖθις ἐδάκνετο, ἵνα μὴ πολλάκεις ἀργοίῃ, τὸν χιτωνίσκον ἔκαυσεν. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς δις
- 4 ἡττημένοις παραινῶ τρίτου πυρὸς μὴ δεθῆναι.” Σύλλας μὲν δὴ καὶ τοῖσδε καταπληξάμενος αὐτοὺς, καθὰ ἐβούλετο ἤρχεν. καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν ἐπὶ τῷ Μιθριδατείῳ
- 5 πολέμῳ. καὶ τινες αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀρνούμενην βασιλείαν ἐπισκώπτοντες ἐκάλουν, ὅτι τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄνομα μόνον ἐπικρύπτει. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὸναντίον ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων μετέφερον, καὶ τυραννίδα ὁμολογοῦσαν
- 102 ἔλεγον. ἐς τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Ἰταλοῖς ἅπασιν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε προύβη κακοῦ, προύβη δὲ καὶ

τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἱταλίαν ἔθνεσιν ἅπασιν, ἄρτι μὲν ὑπὸ
 ληστῶν καὶ Μιθριδάτου καὶ Σύλλα πεπολεμημένοις,
 ἄρτι δ' ἀποροῦντος τοῦ ταμιείου διὰ τὰς στάσεις
 ἐκτετρυχωμένοις ἐσφοραῖς πολλαῖς. ἔθνη τε γὰρ πάντα, ²
 καὶ βασιλεῖς ὅσοι σύμμαχοι, καὶ πόλεις οὐχ ὅσαι μό-
 νον ὑποτελεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσαι ἐαυτὰς ἐνεκεχειρίκεσαν ἐπὶ
συνθήκαις ἐνορκοι, καὶ ὅσαι διὰ συμμαχίαν ἢ τινα ἀρετὴν
 ἄλλην αὐτόνομοί τε καὶ φόρων ἦσαν ἀτελεῖς, τότε πᾶσαι
συντελεῖν ἐκελεύοντο καὶ ὑπακούειν, χώρας τε ἔναι καὶ
 λιμένων κατὰ συνθήκας σφίσι δεδομένων ἀφηρῶντο.

Σύλλας δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ ³
 ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλεύσαντος υἱόν, ἀνατραφέντα μὲν ἐν
 Κῷ καὶ ὑπὸ Κῶων ἐκδοθέντα Μιθριδάτῃ, διαφυγόντα
 δὲ πρὸς Σύλλαν ἐκ Μιθριδάτου καὶ συνήθη (οἱ)
 γενόμενον, ἐψηφίσατο βασιλεύειν Ἀλεξανδρέων, ἐρή-
 μου τῆς [Ἀλεξανδρέων] ἀρχῆς ἀνδρὸς οὔσης, καὶ τῶν

102. 2 ὑποτελεῖς, 'stipendiariae civitates.'

ἐπὶ συνθήκαις ἐνορκοι, 'civitates foederatae.'

ὅσαι διὰ συμμαχίαν, &c., 'civitates liberae,' whose freedom
 rested on a grant from the Roman senate or people, not on a
 sworn treaty.

I believe that the forced contribution here mentioned as
 levied once for all, which amounted (Plutarch, Sulla 25. 3) to
 20,000 talents, or nearly 5 million sterling, is the 'vectigal quod
 his aequabiliter Sulla descripserat,' mentioned by Cicero (ad
 Q. F. i. i. 33), of which he says that the Greeks were unable
 to raise it without having recourse to Roman *publicani*. Momm-
 sen (*Rom. Hist.* Book iv, ch. 10) interprets that passage to
 mean that Sulla altered the system of annual taxation by
 abolishing the 'censoria locatio' instituted by C. Gracchus.
 Yet Cicero (in Verr. iii. 6) in 70 B. C. speaks of the taxes of
 Asiatic land as regulated by the *Lex Sempronius*; and if we
 compare the passage from the letter to Quintus with Plutarch,
 Lucullus, 20. 4, it is quite clear that *publicani* did lend the money
 for the payment of the 20,000 talents of war indemnity.

χώρας καὶ λιμένων. I am not aware of any instance of such
 forfeiture.

³ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλεύσαντος. This was Ptolemy
 XI (Alexander I) who reigned in Cyprus from B. C. 114, and in
 Egypt from 107-88 B. C. He was expelled in 88 B. C., and
 Ptolemy X (Soter II, Lathyrus), whom Alexander I had sup-

- γυναικῶν, ὅσαι βασιλείου γένους [ἦσαν], ἀνδρὸς συγγενοῦς δεομένων, ἐλπίσας χρηματιεῖσθαι πολλὰ ἐκ
 4 βασιλείας πολυχρύσου. ἀλλὰ τόνδε μὲν οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἐννεακαιδεκάτην ἡμέραν ἔχοντα τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἀτοπώτερον σφῶν, οἷα Σύλλα πεποιθότα, ἐξηγούμενον, ἐς τὸ γυμνάσιον ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου προαγαγόντες ἔκτειναν.
 5 οὕτως ἔτι καὶ οἶδε, διὰ τε μέγεθος ἀρχῆς ιδίας, καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν κακῶν ἔτι ὄντες ἀπαθείς, ἀφόβως εἶχον ἐτέρων.
 103 τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους Σύλλας, καίπερ ὢν δικτάτωρ, ἐς ὑπόκρισιν ὅμως καὶ σχῆμα δημοκρατικῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπέστη καὶ ὑπάτος αὖθις γενέσθαι σὺν Μετέλλῳ τῷ
 2 εὐσεβεῖ. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἴσως ἔτι νῦν οἱ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖς, ὑπάτους ἀποφαίνοντες τῇ πατρίδι, ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἀποδεικνύουσιν, ἐν καλῷ τιθέμενοι μετὰ τῆς μεγίστης ἀρχῆς καὶ ὑπατεύσαι.
 3 τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει ὁ μὲν δῆμος καὶ τότε τὸν Σύλλαν

planted in 107 B. C., was restored. On the death of Lathyrus in 81 B. C. Sulla places Alexander II (Ptolemy XII), son of Alexander I, on the throne.

4 ἀφόβως εἶχον ἐτέρων. The indifference of Egypt to the anger of Rome may be illustrated by the obstinate refusal of Lathyrus, the predecessor of Alexander II, five years before, to depart from an attitude of neutrality during the Mithridatic War, notwithstanding the diplomatic pressure of Sulla's envoy (Plut. Lucull. 2 and 3). In the present instance the Egyptian contempt was justified by the vacillating policy of Rome herself during the following period. This same Ptolemy (Alexander II) during his nineteen days' reign, was said to have made a will bequeathing his kingdom to the Roman people, but the senate never made up its mind whether to accept the bequest, and the Egyptian question was handed down as a problem for the next generation. The practical successor of Ptolemy XII (Alexander), was a bastard of the family nick-named Auletes (Ptolemy XIII) who, after various vicissitudes, died in 52 B. C.; his coins count this as the thirtieth year of his reign, which he claims to date from his predecessor's death in 81 B. C. For the dynastic succession, see the Introduction to *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins*, 'The Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt,' by R. S. Poole.

103. 1 τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους : 80 B. C. coss. Sulla II, Metello.

3 τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει : 79 B. C. coss. P. Servilio, Ap. Claudio.

θεραπεύων ἡρεῖτο ὑπατεύειν, ὃ δὲ οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος ὑπάτους μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀπέφηνε Σερουίλιον Ἰσαυρικὸν καὶ Κλαύδιον Πούλχρον, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν μεγάλην ἀρχὴν οὐδενὸς ἐνοχλοῦντος ἐκὼν ἀπέθετο. καὶ μοι θαῦμα μὲν 4 καὶ τότε αὐτοῦ καταφαίνεται, τοσὴνδε ἀρχὴν πρῶτον ἀνδρῶν καὶ μόνον ἐς τότε Σύλλαν, οὐδενὸς ἐπείγοντος, ἀποθέσθαι, οὐ παισίν, ὥς Πτολεμαῖος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνης ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ καὶ Σέλευκος ἐν Συρίᾳ, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς τυραννουμένοις· ἄλογον δ' ἤδη καὶ 5 τὸ βιασάμενον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ῥιψοκινδύνως, ἐπεὶ τε ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο, ἐκόντα ἀποθέσθαι, καὶ παράδοξον, οἷον οὕτω τι ἕτερον, τὸ μὴ δεῖσθαι νεότητος ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ πλέον μυριάδων δέκα ἀνηρημένης, καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν ἀνελόντα βουλευτὰς μὲν ἐνενήκοντα, ὑπάτους δ' ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων δισχιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους σὺν τοῖς ἐξεληλαμένοις· ὧν τῆς τε περιουσίας δεδημευμένης, καὶ πολλῶν 6 ἀτάφων ἐκριφέντων, οὔτε τοὺς οἴκοι ὁ Σύλλας οὔτε τοὺς φεύγοντας καταπλαγείς, οὐδὲ τὰς πόλεις ὧν ἀκροπόλεις τε καὶ τείχη καὶ γῆν καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἀτελείας ἀφήρητο, ἑαυτὸν ἀπέφηνεν ἰδιώτην. τοσοῦτον ἦν ἐν 104 τῷδε τῷ ἀνδρὶ τόλμης καὶ τύχης· ὃν γέ φασιν ἐπειπεῖν ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποτιθέμενον, ὅτι καὶ λόγον, εἴ τις αἰτοίῃ, τῶν γεγονότων ὑφέξει, καὶ τὰς ῥάβδους καθελόντα καὶ τοὺς πελέκεας τὴν φρουρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἀπώσασθαι, καὶ μόνον μετὰ τῶν

4 Πτολεμαῖος. Ptolemy, son of Lagus, founder of the Egyptian dynasty abdicated in 285 B. C., two years before his death, in favour of his youngest son Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Ἀριοβαρζάνης. Ariobarzanes I (Φιλορώμαιος) of Cappadocia, restored by Pompey about 64 B. C. to the kingdom from which he had been expelled by Mithridates, resigned the crown not long afterwards to his son Ariobarzanes II (Φιλοπάτωρ).

Σέλευκος. Seleucus Nicator, founder of the Syrian monarchy, resigned his Asiatic dominions to his son Antiochus, in order to seize the vacant throne of Macedonia, but was assassinated soon after landing in Europe (280 B. C.).

- φίλων ἐς πολὺν ἐν μέσῳ βαδίσαι, θεωμένου τοῦ πλή-
 2 θους καὶ καταπεπληγὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τότε. ἀναχωροῦντα
 δ' ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν μόλις ποτὲ μεिरάκιον ἐπεμέμφετο,
 καὶ οὐδενὸς αὐτὸ ἀπερύκοντος ἐθάρρησε καὶ λοιδορού-
 3 μενον αὐτῷ μέχρι τῆς οἰκίας ἐλθεῖν. ὁ δὲ κατὰ τῶν
 μεγίστων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων ἄκρος ὀργὴν γενό-
 μενος, εὐσταθῶς τὸ μεिरάκιον ἤνεγκε· καὶ τοσοῦτον
 ἐσιῶν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν, εἴτε ἀπὸ συνέσεως εἴτε καὶ τύχη
 καταμαντευόμενος τῶν ἐσομένων, ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι κω-
 λύσει τὸ μεिरάκιον τόδε ἕτερον ἄνδρα ἀρχὴν τοιάνδε
 4 ἔχοντα ἀποθέσθαι. καὶ Ῥωμαίοις μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι
 συνηνέχθη μετ' ὀλίγον, Γαίῳ Καίσαρος τὴν ἀρχὴν
 5 οὐκέτι μεθέντος. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας μοι δοκεῖ, ἐς πάντα
 σφοδρὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ δυνατὸς γενόμενος, ἐπιθυμῆσαι τύ-
 ραννος ἐξ ιδιώτου γενέσθαι καὶ ιδιώτης ἐκ τυράννου,
 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπ' ἐρημίας ἀγροίκου διαγενέσθαι.
 6 διῆλθε γὰρ ἐς χωρία ἴδια ἐς Κύμην τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ
 ἐνταῦθα ἐπ' ἐρημίας θαλάσσης τε καὶ κυνηγεσίῳ ἐχρήτο,
 οὐ φυλασσόμενος ἄρα τὸν κατ' ἄστν ιδιώτην βίον,
 7 οὐδ' ἀσθενὴς ὢν αἰθῆς ἐς ὃ τι ὀρμήσειεν· ᾧ δυνατὴ
 μὲν ἔτι ἡ ἡλικία καὶ τὸ σῶμα εὖρωστον, ἀμφὶ δὲ τὴν
 Ἰταλίαν δώδεκα μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν ἦσαν ἑναγχος ὑπ-
 εστρατευμένων καὶ δωρεὰς μεγάλας καὶ γῆν πολλὴν παρ'
 αὐτοῦ λαβόντων, ἔτοιμοι δ' οἱ κατὰ τὸ ἄστν μύριοι
 Κορινῆλοι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος αὐτοῦ στασιώτης λεῷς, εὖνους
 αὐτῷ καὶ φοβερὸς ὢν ἔτι τοῖς ἐτέροις, καὶ τὸ σφέτε-
 ρον ἀδελφεὸς ὢν τῷ Σύλλᾳ συνεπεπράχεσαν, ἐν τῷ Σύλ-
 8 λαν περιεῖναι τιθέμενοι. ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ κόρον τε
 πολέμων καὶ κόρον ἀρχῆς καὶ κόρον ἄστεος λαβὼν
 ἐπὶ τέλει καὶ ἀγροικίας ἐρασθῆναι.
 105 ἄρτι δ' ἀποστάντος αὐτοῦ, Ῥωμαῖοι φόνου καὶ τυ-
 ραννίδος ἀπαλλαγέντες ἡσυχῇ πάλιν ἐπὶ στάσεις ὑπερ-

104. 6 οὐ φυλασσόμενος, 'not because he dreaded.'

chs. 105-107. Death of Sulla and revolt of Lepidus.

ριπίζοντο ἑτέρας. καὶ ὕπατοι αὐτοῖς καθίστανται Κόιν-
τός τε Κάτλος ἀπὸ τῶν Συλλείων καὶ Λέπιδος Αἰμίλιος
ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἐχθίστω τε ἀλλήλοιν καὶ εὐθὺς
ἀρξαμένῳ διαφέρεσθαι. δῆλόν τε ἦν τι κακὸν ἕτερον
ἐκ τοῦδε γενησόμενον.

Σύλλας δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ἐνύπνιον ἔδοξεν ἰδεῖν, ὅτι ²
αὐτὸν ὁ δαίμων ἤδη καλοῖη· καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα μεθ'
ἡμέραν τοῖς φίλοις τὸ ὄναρ ἐξειπὼν διαθήκας συν-
έγραφεν ἐπειγόμενος καὶ αὐτῆς ἡμέρας συνετέλει, σφρα-
γισαμένῳ δ' αὐτὰς περὶ ἐσπέραν πυρετὸς ἐμπίπτει, καὶ
νυκτὸς ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐξήκοντα μὲν ἔτη βιώσας, εὐτυ-
χέστατος δ' ἀνδρῶν ἕς τε τὸ τέλος αὐτὸ καὶ ἐς τὰλλα
πάντα, ὥσπερ καὶ ὠνομάζετο, γενέσθαι δοκῶν, εἰ δὴ
τις εὐτυχίαν ἡγοῖτο τυχεῖν ὅσων αὖν ἐθέλη. γίγνεται ³
δ' εὐθὺς ἐν ἄστει στάσις ἐπ' αὐτῷ, τῶν μὲν ἄγειν
ἀξιούντων τὸ σῶμα διὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπὶ πομπῇ, καὶ
ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐν ἀγορᾷ προτιθέναι καὶ ταφῆς δημο-
σίας ἀξιοῦν, Λεπίδου δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Λέπιδον ἐν-
ισταμένων. ἐξενίκα δ' ὁ Κάτλος καὶ οἱ Σύλλειοι, καὶ ⁴
ἐφέρετο ὁ νέκυσ ὁ τοῦ Σύλλα διὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐς τὸ
ἄστυ ἐπὶ κλίνης χρυσηλάτου καὶ κόσμου βασιλικοῦ,
σαλπικταί τε πολλοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς καὶ ἄλλος ὄμιλος ἐκ
ποδὸς ὠπλισμένος εἶπετο. οἳ τε ὑποστρατευσάμενοι ⁵
αὐτῷ πανταχόθεν ἐπὶ τὴν παραπομπὴν ὠπλισμένοι συν-
έθεον, καὶ ὡς ἕκαστος ἀφικνοῖτο, εὐθὺς ἐς κόσμον
καθίσταντο. ἄλλο τε πλῆθος, ὅσον ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἔργῳ,
συνέτρεχεν. ἡγεῖτο δ' αὐτοῦ σημεία καὶ πελέκει, ὅσοις
περιὼν ἔτι καὶ ἄρχων ἐκοσμεῖτο. ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ ¹⁰⁶
ἠνέχθη, ἐσεφέρετο μετὰ πομπῆς ἐνταῦθα δὴ μάλιστα
ὑπερόγκου. στέφανοί τε γὰρ δισχιλίων πλείους ἀπὸ
χρυσοῦ κατὰ σπουδὴν γενόμενοι παρεφέροντο, δῶρα
τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατευσαμένων τελῶν

105. I ὕπατοι καθίστανται: B. C. 78 coss. Lepido, Catulo.

5 ἡγεῖτο αὐτοῦ, 'led the way before him.'

- καὶ καθ' ἓνα τῶν φίλων, ἄλλη τε τῶν ἐς τὴν ταφὴν
 2 πεμφθέντων οὐ δυνατὴ φράσαι πολυτέλεια. καὶ τὸ
 σῶμα, δέει τοῦ συνδραμόντος στρατοῦ, παρέπεμπον
 ἱερεῖς τε ἅμα πάντες καὶ ἱέρειαι, κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτῶν
 ἐκάτεροι, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ πᾶσα καὶ αἱ ἀρχαί, τὰ σφέτερα
 3 σημεῖα ἐπικείμενοι. κόσμῳ δ' ἄλλῳ τὸ τῶν καλου-
 μένων ἱππέων πλῆθος εἶπετο, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐν μέρει
 πᾶς, ὅσος ὑπεστράτευτο αὐτῷ· συνέδραμον γὰρ σπουδῇ,
 τὸ ἔργον ἅπαντες ἐπειγόμενοι καταλαβεῖν, σημεῖά τε
 φέροντες ἐπίχρυσα καὶ ὄπλα ἐπὶ σφίσιν περιάργυρα,
 οἷς ἔτι νῦν ἐς τὰς πομπὰς εἰώθασιν χρῆσθαι. σαλπικ-
 τῶν τε ἄπειρον ἦν πλῆθος, παρὰ μέρος ὑγρότατα
 καὶ πένθιμα μελωδούντων. βοῇ δ' ἐπηυφήμουν ἢ τε
 βουλὴ πρώτη καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐν μέρει, εἴθ' ὁ στρατός,
 εἴθ' ὁ δῆμος, οἳ μὲν τῷ ὄντι τὸν Σύλλαν ἐπιποθοῦν-
 4 τες, οἳ δὲ δειμαίνοντες αὐτοῦ καὶ τότε τὸν στρατὸν
 καὶ τὸν νέκυν οὐχ ἦττον ἢ περιόντος· ἐς τε γὰρ τὴν
 ὄψιν τῶν γιγνομένων ἀποβλέποντες, καὶ ἐς τὴν μνή-
 μην ὧν ἔδρασεν ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἐξεπλήττοντο, καὶ ὠμολόγουν
 τοῖς ἐναντίοις εὐτυχέστατον αὐτὸν ἐκείνοις γενέσθαι,
 5 καὶ σφίσιν καὶ τεθνεῶτα φοβερώτατον. ὥς δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ
 βήματος, ἔνθα δημηγοροῦσιν ἐν ἀγορᾷ, προτέθη, τοὺς
 μὲν ἐπιταφίους λόγους εἶπεν ὁ κράτιστος εἰπεῖν τῶν
 τότε, ἐπεὶ Φαῦστος ὁ παῖς ὁ τοῦ Σύλλα νεώτατος ἦν
 ἔτι, τὸ δὲ λέχος ὑποδύντες ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἄνδρες
 εὖρωστοι διεκόμιζον ἐς τὸ πεδῖον τὸ Ἀρειον, ἔνθα
 βασιλεῖς θάπτονται μόνοι· καὶ τὸ πῦρ οἳ τε ἱππεῖς
 καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ περιέδραμον.
- 107 καὶ Σύλλα μὲν τοῦτο τέλος ἦν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πυρᾶς
 χωροῦντες εὐθὺς οἱ ὕπατοι λόγοις βλασφήμοις ἐς ἀλλή-
 λους διεφέροντο, καὶ τὸ ἀστικὸν ἐς αὐτοὺς διήρητο.
 Λέπιδος δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἰταλικοὺς προσποιούμενος, ἔλεγεν

ὅτι τὴν γῆν αὐτοῖς, ἣν ὁ Σύλλας ἀφῆρητο, ἀποδώσει. ἄμφω μὲν οὖν ἡ βουλὴ δείσασα ὥρκωσεν μὴ πολέμῳ διακριθῆναι, κληρωσάμενος δ' ὁ Λέπιδος τὴν ὑπὲρ Ἑλλείων Γαλατίαν, ἐπὶ τὰ ἀρχαιρέσια οὐ κατῆι ὡς πολεμήσων τοῖς Συλλείοις τοῦ ἐπιόντος ἔτους ὑπὲρ τὸν ὄρκον ἀδεῶς· ἐδόκουν γὰρ ἐς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτος ὥρκῳσθαι. οὐ λανθάνων δ' ἐφ' οἷς ἐβούλευν, ἕκα-³ λείτο ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς· καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἀγνοῶν ἐφ' οἷς ἐκαλείτο, ἦι μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ὡς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελευσόμενος σὺν αὐτῷ. κωλυόμενος δὲ ἐκήρυξεν ἐς τὰ ὄπλα χωρεῖν, καὶ ἀντεκήρυττε Κάτλος. μικρόν⁴ τε πρὸ τοῦ Ἀρείου πεδίου μάχης αὐτοῖς γενομένης, ἡττώμενος ὁ Λέπιδος καὶ οὐκ ἐς πολὺν ἔτι ἀντισχῶν ἐς Σαρδὸν διέπλευσεν, ἔνθα νόσῳ τηκεδόνι χρώμενος ἀπέθανεν. καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ μικρὰ κατὰ μέρος⁵ ἐνοχλήσας διελύθη, τὸ δὲ κράτιστον Περπέννας ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἤγαγε Σερτωρίῳ.

λοιπὸν δ' ἐστὶ τῶν Συλλείων ἔργων τὸ Σερτωρίον, ¹⁰⁸ γεγόμενον μὲν ὀκτάετες, οὐκ εὐμαρές δὲ οὐδαμὰ Ῥωμαίοις, ἅτε μὴ πρὸς Ἰβήρας αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τόδε ἐπ' ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς Σερτώριον, ὃς ἦρητο μὲν Ἰβηρίας ἄρχειν, Κάρβωνι δ' ἐπὶ Σύλλα συμμαχῶν Σύεσσαν πόλιν ἐν σπονδαῖς κατέλαβε, καὶ φεύγων ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν ὄχετο. καὶ στρατὸν ἔχων ἐκ τε Ἰταλίας² αὐτῆς, καὶ τινα ἄλλον ἐκ Κελτιβήρων ἀγείρας, τοὺς τε πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ στρατηγούς, οὐ παραδιδόντας οἱ τὴν

107. 2 ὑπὲρ τὸν ὄρκον, 'though to fight were against his oath, yet he might do it next year with a safe conscience'; 'quasi anno insequenti iam iureiurando solutus bellum libere gesturus' (Schweigh.).

5 μικρὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐνοχλήσας, 'having given some slight trouble in partial encounters'; cf. ch. 119. 2 ἠνώχλει τοῖς παρακαθημένοις ἀνὰ μέρος, and ch. 117. 2 ἐκάτερον παρὰ μέρος ἐνίκα. There seems no reason for the doubt suggested in Mendelssohn's note.

chs. 108-115. War with Sertorius.

108. 1 Σύεσσαν: see ch. 85. 4.

ἀρχὴν ἐς χάριν Σύλλα, τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐξέβαλλε, καὶ πρὸς
 Μέτελλον ἐπιπεμφθέντα ὑπὸ Σύλλα ἀπεμάχετο γεν-
 3 ναίως. περιώνυμος δὲ ὢν ἐπὶ τόλμῃ, βουλὴν κατ-
έλεξεν ἐκ τῶν συνόντων οἱ φίλων τριακοσίους, καὶ
 τήνδε ἔλεγεν εἶναι τὴν Ῥωμαίων βουλήν, καὶ ἐς ὕβριν
 4 ἐκείνης σύγκλητον ἐκάλει. Σύλλα δ' ἀποθανόντος, καὶ
 Λεπίδου μετὰ Σύλλαν, στρατὸν ἔχων ἄλλον Ἰταλῶν,
 ὅσον αὐτῷ Περπένας ὁ τοῦ Λεπίδου στρατηγὸς ἤγα-
 γεν, ἐπίδοξος ἦν στρατεύσειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ μὴ
 δείσασα ἡ βουλὴ στρατὸν τε ἄλλον καὶ στρατηγὸν
 ἕτερον ἐπὶ τῷ προτέρῳ Πομπήιον ἔπεμψεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν,
 νέον μὲν ἔτι ὄντα, περιφανῇ δ' ἐξ ὧν ἐπὶ Σύλλα περί-
 109 τε Λιβύην καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατείργαστο. ὃ δὲ ἐς
 τὰ Ἄλπεια ὄρη μετὰ φρονήματος ἀνῆει, οὐ κατὰ τὴν
 Ἀννίβου μεγαλουργίαν, ἐτέραν δ' ἐχάρασεν ἀμφὶ ταῖς
 πηγαῖς τοῦ τε Ῥοδανοῦ καὶ Ἡριδανοῦ, οἱ ἀνίσχουσι
 μὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἀλπείων ὄρων οὐ μακρὰν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων,
 ρεῖ δ' ὃ μὲν διὰ Κελτῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἄλπεις ἐς τὴν
 Τυρρηνικὴν θάλασσαν, ὃ δὲ ἔνδοθεν τῶν Ἀλπείων
 ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον, Πάδος ἀντὶ Ἡριδανοῦ μετονομασθεῖς.
 2 ἀφικομένου δ' ἐς Ἰβηρίαν αὐτίκα ὁ Σερτώριος τέλος
 ὄλον, ἐπὶ χορτολογία ἐξιόν, αὐτοῖς ὑποζυγίοις καὶ
 θεράπουσι συνέκοψε, καὶ Λαύρωνα πόλιν ἐφορῶντος
 3 αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου διήρπασε καὶ κατέσκαψεν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς

109. 1 μεγαλουργίαν. Schweigh. explains this as meaning 'non tanto quidem molimine,' 'not in the face of such difficulties' (Wright). I am inclined to prefer the interpretation of the old translator Candidus, 'non per Hannibalis illud memoratum iter.' The sense seems clearly to require a statement of the fact, implied in the next words, that Pompey's road was not over the same Pass as that crossed by Hannibal.

ἐτέραν δ' ἐχάρασεν. The question of what route Pompey followed is discussed in an Appendix, p. 127 sqq.

2 ἀφικομένου δ' ἐς Ἰβηρίαν. Pompey's arrival in Spain was in the year 76 B. C. coss. Octavio, Scribonio Curione.

Λαύρωνα. Near the Mediterranean coast, halfway between Saguntum and Carthago Nova.

πολιορκίας γυνή τις ἐνυβρίζοντος αὐτῇ τοῦ λαβόντος παρὰ φύσιν τοῖς δακτύλοις ἐξέτεμε τὰς ὄψεις· καὶ ὁ Σερτώριος τοῦ πάθους πυθόμενος, τὴν σπεῖραν ὅλην ἀγέρωχον ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτ' εἶναι νομιζομένην, καίπερ οὔσαν Ῥωμαϊκὴν, κατέκτανεν.

καὶ τότε μὲν χειμῶνος ἐπιόντος διέστησαν, ἀρχο- 110 μένου δ' ἦρος ἐπήεσαν ἀλλήλοις, Μέτελλος μὲν καὶ Πομπήιος ἀπὸ τῶν Πυρρηναίων ὀρών, ἔνθα διεχειμάζον, Σερτώριος δὲ καὶ Περπέννας ἐκ Λυσιτανίας. καὶ 2 συμβάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις περὶ πόλιν ἣ ὄνομα Σούκρων. κτύπου δ' ἐν αἰθρία φοβεροῦ καὶ ἀστραπῶν παραλόγων γενομένων, τάδε μὲν ὡς ἐμπειροπόλεμοι διέφερον ἀκαταπλήκτως, πολὺν δ' ἀλλήλων φόνον ἐξεργάζοντο, μέχρι Μέτελλος μὲν Περπένναν ἐτρέψατο καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ διήρπαζεν, ὁ δὲ Σερτώριος ἐνῖκα Πομπήιον, καὶ ἐτρώθη δόρατι ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ἐπικινδύνως ὁ Πομπήιος. καὶ τοῦτο τέλος ἐγένετο τῆς τότε μάχης. ἔλαφος δ' ἦν λευκὴ χειροήθης τῷ Σερτωρίῳ 3 καὶ ἄνετος· ἥς ἀφανοῦς γενομένης, ὁ Σερτώριος οὐκ αἷσιον ἑαυτῷ τιθέμενος ἐβαρυνθῆμι τε καὶ ἐπ' ἀργίας ἦν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπιτωθαζόμενος ἐς τὴν ἔλαφον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. ὡς δ' ὤφθη διὰ δρυμῶν δρόμῳ φερομένη, 4 ἀνά τε ἔδραμεν ὁ Σερτώριος, καὶ εὐθύς, ὥσπερ αὐτῇ προκαταρχόμενος, ἤκροβολίστατο ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους. οὐ 5 πολὺν δὲ ὕστερον ἀγῶνα μέγαν ἡγωνίστατο περὶ Σαγον-

110. 1 ἀρχομένου δ' ἦρος : B. C. 75 coss. L. Octavio, C. Cotta.

2 Σούκρων. Sucro, a town at the mouth of the river of the same name, thirty-five miles south of Saguntum.

διέφερον, 'endured'; cf. ch. 21. 1.

3 ἄνετος, 'set free,' 'allowed its liberty.' The word is especially used of animals set free from labour as being dedicated to a god.

4 αὐτῇ προκαταρχόμενος, '*velut illa duce et auspice usus*. Similima verbi constructio apud Thucyd. i. 25 οὔτε Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρὶ προκαταρχόμενοι τῶν ἱερῶν, *neque in sacris faciendis duce et auspice Corinthio cive utebantur*' (Schweigh.).

τίαν, ἐκ μεσημβρίας ἐπὶ ἄστρα. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἵππο-
μαχῶν ἐκράτει τοῦ Πομπηίου, καὶ ἔκτεινεν ἐς ἑξακισ-
 χιλίους, ἀποβαλὼν ἐς ἡμίσεας. Μέτελλος δὲ καὶ τότε
 6 Περπέννα περὶ πεντακισχιλίους διέφθειρεν. καὶ ὁ Σερ-
 τώριος μετὰ τὴν μάχην τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας πολλοὺς
 βαρβάρους προσλαβὼν ἐπέδραμεν ἀδοκῆτως τῷ Μετέλ-
 λου στρατοπέδῳ περὶ δεῖλην ἐσπέραν ὥς ἀποταφρεύ-
 σων αὐτὸ σὺν τόλμῃ, Πομπηίου δ' ἐπιδραμόντος
 ἐπαύσατο τῆς καταφρονήσεως. καὶ τάδε μὲν αὐτοῖς
 ἦν τοῦδε τοῦ θέρους ἔργα, καὶ πάλιν ἐς χειμασίαν
 διεκρίθησαν.

- 111 τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους, ἑκτῆς ἐβδομηκοστῆς καὶ
 ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος οὔσης, δύο μὲν ἐκ διαθηκῶν
 ἔθνη Ῥωμαίοις προσεγίγνετο, Βιθυνία τε Νικομήδους
 ἀπολιπόντος, καὶ Κυρήνη Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λαγίδου
 2 βασιλέως, ὃς ἐπὶ κλήσιν ἦν Ἀπίων· πόλεμοι δ' ἤκμαζον
 οὗτός τε ὁ Σερτωρίου περὶ Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτου
 περὶ τὴν ἀνατολήν, καὶ ὁ τῶν ληστών ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ θαλάσσῃ,
 καὶ περὶ Κρήτην πρὸς αὐτοὺς Κρητὰς ἕτερος, καὶ ὁ τῶν

111. 1 τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους: B. C. 74 coss. L. Lucullo, M. Cotta.
 The year falls about the middle of the 176th Olympiad (76-
 72 B. C.).

ἀπολιπόντος. Of the two kings named, Nicomedes of
 Bithynia died at the beginning of the year; his bequest of his
 kingdom to Rome was the signal for Mithridates to renew the
 war.

The annexation of Cyrene requires more explanation, see
 Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, vol. i, p. 300. Ptolemy Apion,
 under whose will the Romans claimed Cyrene, died in 96 B. C.
 Rome, though apparently appropriating the royal domains and
 exacting some contributions in kind, gave *libertas* to each of
 the five cities which occupied the land. Lucullus, after some
 disorders in 86 B. C., revised their constitutions. It was not
 then till this year (74 B. C.), twenty-two years after the death of
 Apion, that the Cyrenaica was made into a province; it seems
 to have been governed at first by a *quaestor pro praetore*;
 afterwards it was united to Crete.

2 ὁ τῶν ληστών (πόλεμος). In this year (74 B. C.) the praetor
 M. Antonius (father of the triumvir) was granted an 'infinitem

μονομάχων ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, αἰφνίδιος αὐτοῖς καὶ
 ὁδὲ καὶ σφοδρὸς ὁμοῦ γενόμενος. διαιρούμενοι δ' ἐς 3
 τοσαῦτα, ὅμως καὶ ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἔπεμψαν ἄλλα στρατοῦ
 δύο τέλη, μεθ' ὧν ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ παντὶ Μέτελλός τε
 καὶ Πομπήιος αὐθις ἀπὸ τῶν Πυρρηναίων ὁρῶν ἐπὶ
 τὸν Ἰβηρα κατέβαινον. Σερτώριος δὲ καὶ Περπέννας
 αὐτοῖς ἀπῆντων ἀπὸ Λυσιτανίας. καὶ τότε μάλιστα 112
 πολλοὶ Σερτωρίου πρὸς τὸν Μέτελλον ἠτύομόλουν, ἐφ'
 ᾧ χαλεπαίνων ὁ Σερτώριος ἀγρίως καὶ βαρβαρικῶς ἐλυ-
 μαίνετο πολλοῖς, καὶ διὰ μίσους ἐγίγνετο. μᾶλλον δ' 2
 αὐτὸν ὁ στρατὸς ἐν αἰτίαις εἶχεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ δορυφόρους
 αὐτ' αὐτῶν ἐπήγετο πανταχοῦ Κελτίβηρας, καὶ τὴν
 φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος, Ῥωμαίους ἀπελάσας, τοῖσδε αὐτ'
 ἐκείνων ἐπέτρεπεν. οὐ γὰρ ἔφερον ἐς ἀπιστίαν ὄνειδι- 3
 ζόμενοι, εἰ καὶ πολεμῶ Ῥωμαίων ἐστρατεύοντο· ἀλλ'
 αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ μάλιστα ὑπέδακνεν αὐτούς, τὸ ἀπί-
 στους ἐς τὴν πατρίδα διὰ τὸν Σερτώριον γενομένους
 ἀπιστεῖσθαι καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ, οὐδ' ἡξίουσαν διὰ τοὺς 4
 αὐτομολήσαντας οἱ παραμένοντες κατεγνώσθαι. πολλὰ
 δὲ καὶ οἱ Κελτίβηρες αὐτοῖς, ἀφορμῆς λαβόμενοι, ἐν-
 ὑβρίζον ὡς ἀπιστουμένοις. οἱ δ' οὐ τελέως ὅμως τὸν
 Σερτώριον ἀπεστρέφοντο διὰ τὰς χρείας· οὐ γὰρ ἦν
 τότε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὔτε πολεμικώτερος ἄλλος οὔτ' ἐπι-
 τυχεστότερος. ὅθεν αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ Κελτίβηρες διὰ τὴν 5
 ταχυεργίαν ἐκάλουν Ἀννίβαν, ὃν θρασύτατόν τε καὶ
 ἀπατηλότατον στρατηγὸν παρὰ σφίσιν ἐδόκουν γενέ-

imperium' in order to oppose the pirates. He abused his power, was defeated, and died soon afterwards.

112. 1 ἀγρίως καὶ βαρβαρικῶς. Besides his cruelty towards his Roman troops, Sertorius massacred a number of native youths of the most important Spanish families whom he was educating in Roman fashion at Osca (Plut. Sert. 14. 2 and 25. 4).

3 οὐδ' ἡξίουσαν, &c. 'And those who remained by him thought it unfair that they should be censured because others had deserted.'

6 σθαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ στρατὸς ὧδε εἶχε Σερτωρίῳ, πόλεις
 δ' αὐτοῦ πολλὰς ἐπέτρεχον οἱ περὶ τὸν Μέτελλον, καὶ
 τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς τὰ ὑπήκοα σφίσι μετῆγον. Παλλαντίαν
 δὲ Πομπηίου περικαθημένου, καὶ τὰ τείχη ξύλων κορ-
 μοῖς ὑποκρεμάσαντος, ἐπιφανεῖς ὁ Σερτώριος τὴν μὲν
 πολιορκίαν ἐξέλυσε, τὰ τείχη δ' ἔφθασεν ὑποκαύσας
 7 ὁ Πομπήιος, καὶ ἐς Μέτελλον ἀνεχώρει. Σερτώριος
 δὲ καὶ τὰ πεσόντα ἤγειρε, καὶ τοῖς περὶ τι χωρίον
 Καλάγυρον στρατοπεδεύουσιν ἐπιδραμῶν ἔκτεινε
 τρισχιλίους. καὶ τὰδε ἦν καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ἔτους ἐν
 Ἰβηρίᾳ.

113 τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος οἱ στρατηγοὶ Ῥωμαίων, μᾶλλον τι
 θαρρήσαντες, ἐπήεσαν ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς ὑπὸ Σερτωρίῳ
 σὺν καταφρονήσει, καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοῦ περιέσπων, καὶ
 2 ἐτέροις ἐπέβαινον, ἐπαιρόμενοι τοῖς ἀπαντωμένοις. οὐ
 μέντοι μεγάλη γε μάχη συνηνέχθησαν, ἀλλ' αὐθις . . . ,
 μέχρι τοῦ ἐξῆς ἔτους αὐτοὶ μὲν αὐθις ἐπήεσαν σὺν
 πλέονι μᾶλλον καταφρονήσει, ὁ δὲ Σερτώριος, βλά-
 πτοντος ἤδη θεοῦ, τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι πόνον
 ἐκὼν μεθίει, τὰ πολλὰ δ' ἦν ἐπὶ τρυφῆς, γυναιξὶ καὶ
 κώμοις καὶ πότοις σχολάζων. ὅθεν ἡττάτο συνεχῶς.
 3 καὶ ἐγεγένητο ὀργὴν τε ἄκρος δι' ὑπονοίας ποικίλας,
 καὶ ὠμότατος ἐς κόλασιν, καὶ ὑπόπτῃς ἐς ἅπαντας,
 ὥστε καὶ Περπένναν τὸν ἐκ τῆς Αἰμιλίου στάσεως
 ἐκόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα μετὰ πολλοῦ στρατοῦ δεῖ-

6 Pallantia is the modern Palencia, north of the Douro, on the border of the kingdoms of Leon and Old Castile; it is close to Sahagun, the scene of one of the most brilliant episodes of Sir John Moore's retreat to Coruña. See Oman, *Peninsular War*, vol. i, p. 536.

7 Καλάγυρον. There are two towns of the name of Calagurris both in the water-basin of the Ebro, and a little south of the Pyrenees.

113. 1 τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος: 73 B. C. coss. Varrone, Cassio.

2 μέχρι τοῦ ἐξῆς: the year of Sertorius' death, 72 B. C. coss. Gellio, Cn. Lentulo.

σαι περὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ προεπιβουλευσαι μετ' ἀνδρῶν
 δέκα. ὥς δὲ καὶ τῶνδ' εἰς τινες τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐνδειχθέν- 4
 τες οἱ μὲν ἐκολάσθησαν οἱ δ' ἀπέφυγον, ὁ Περπέννας
 παρὰ δόξαν λαθὼν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἠπειέγετο,
 καὶ οὐδαμοῦ τὸν Σερτώριον μεθιέντα τοὺς δορυφόρους
 ἐπὶ ἐστίασιν ἐκάλει, μεθύσας δ' αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν
 περιεστῶσαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν φυλακὴν ἔκτεινεν ἐπὶ τῆς
 διαίτης. καὶ ὁ στρατὸς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Περπένναν ἀν- 114
 ἴστατο σὺν θορύβῳ τε πολλῷ καὶ μετ' ὀργῆς, ἐς εὐ-
 νοίαν αὐτίκα τοῦ Σερτωρίου μεταβάλλοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ
 μίσους, ὥσπερ ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποθανούσι τὴν μὲν
 ὀργὴν μεθιάσιν, οὐκ ἐμποδῶν ἔτι τοῦ λυποῦντος ὄν-
 τος, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν μετ' ἐλέου καὶ μνήμης
 ἐπανίασιν. τότε δὲ καὶ τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ἐκλογιζό- 2
 μενοι, Περπέννα μὲν ὡς ἰδιώτου κατεφρόνουν, τὴν
 δ' ἀρετὴν Σερτωρίου μόνην ἂν σφίσιν ἠγούμενοι γενέ-
 σθαι σωτήριον, χαλεπῶς ἐς τὸν Περπένναν διετίθεντο
 αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι σὺν αὐτοῖς, μάλιστα δὲ τού-
 των Λυσιτανοί, ὅσῳ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς ὁ Σερτώριος
 ἐχρῆτο. ὥς δὲ καὶ τῶν διαθηκῶν ἀνοιχθεῖσιν τῶν 3
 Σερτωρίου ὁ Περπέννας αὐταῖς ἐνεγέγραπτο ἐπὶ τῷ
 κλήρῳ, μᾶλλον τι πάντας ὀργὴ καὶ μῖσος ἐς τὸν Περ-
 πένναν ἐσῆει, ὥς οὐκ ἐς ἄρχοντα μόνον ἢ στρατηγὸν
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς φίλον καὶ εὐεργέτην τοσόνδε μύσος ἐργα-
 σάμενον. καὶ οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ χειρῶν ἀπέσχοντο, εἰ μὴ 4
 περιθέων αὐτοὺς ὁ Περπέννας τοὺς μὲν δώροις ὑπηγά-
 γετο τοὺς δ' ὑποσχέσει, τοὺς δ' ἀπειλαῖς ἐξεφόβησε,
 τοὺς δὲ καὶ διεχρήσατο ἐς κατάπληξιν ἐτέρων. ἐπὶ τε
 τὰ πλήθη παρερχόμενος ἐδημαγώγει, καὶ τοὺς δεσμώ-
 τας αὐτῶν ἐξέλευεν, οὓς ὁ Σερτώριος κατέδησε, καὶ
 τοῖς Ἰβηρσι τὰ ὄμηρα ἀπέλευεν. οἷς ὑπαχθέντες ὑπ- 5
 ἤκουον μὲν ὡς στρατηγῷ (τὸ γὰρ δὴ μετὰ Σερτώριον
 εἶχεν ἀξίωμα), οὐ μέντοι χωρὶς δυσμενείας οὐδὲ τότε
 ἐγίγνοντο· καὶ γὰρ ὠμότατος αὐτίκα ἐς κολάσεις θαρ-

- ρήσας ἐφαίνετο, καὶ τῶν ἐκ Ῥώμης αὐτῷ συμφυγόντων ἐπιφανῶν ἔκτεινε τρεῖς, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν ἑαυτοῦ.
- 115 ὥς δὲ ἐφ' ἕτερα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ὁ Μέτελλος ὄχχετό (οὐ γὰρ ἔτι δυσχερὲς ἐδόκει Περπένναν ἐπιτρέψαι μόνῳ Πομπηίῳ), ἐπὶ μὲν τινὰς ἡμέρας ἐγίγνοντο ἀψιμαχίαι καὶ ἀπόπειραι Πομπηίου καὶ Περπέννα, μὴ σαλευόντων ἄθρουν τὸν στρατόν, τῇ δεκάτῃ δὲ ἀγὼν αὐτοῖς
- 2 μέγιστος ἐξερράγη. ἐνὶ γὰρ ἔργῳ κρίναντες διακριθῆναι, Πομπήιος μὲν τῆς Περπέννα στρατηγίας κατεφρόνει, Περπέννας δ' ὥς οὐ πιστῷ χρησόμενος ἐς πολὺ τῷ στρατῷ, πάσῃ σχεδὸν τῇ δυνάμει συνεπλέκετο. ταχὺ δ' ὁ Πομπήιος περιῆν ὥς οὔτε στρατηγοῦ διαφέρον-
- 3 τος οὔτε προθύμου στρατοῦ. καὶ τροπῆς πάντων ὁμαλοῦς γενομένης, ὁ μὲν Περπέννας ὑπὸ θάμνῳ πῶας ἐκρύφθη, δεδιὼς τοὺς οἰκείους μᾶλλον τῶν πολεμίων, λαβόντες δ' αὐτὸν ἵππεῖς τινὲς εἶλκον ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον, ἐπιβλασφημούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ὥς αὐθέντην Σερτωρίου, καὶ βοῶντα πολλὰ μηνύσειν τῷ Πομπηίῳ
- 4 περὶ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ στάσεως. ἔλεγε δὲ εἶτε ἀληθεύων, εἴθ' ἵνα σῶος ἀχθείη πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ προπέμψας ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν πρὶν ἐς ὄψιν ἔλθειν, δείσας ἄρα μή τι μηνύσειεν ἀδόκητον, καὶ ἐτέρων ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ γένοιτο. καὶ ἔδοξεν ἐμφρόνως πάνυ τοῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος πράξαι, καὶ συνετέλεσεν αὐτῷ καὶ τότε ἐς
- 5 δόξαν ἀγαθὴν. τέλος δ' ἦν τοῦτο τῷ περὶ Ἰβηρίαν πολέμῳ, τὸ καὶ Σερτωρίῳ τοῦ βίου γερόμενον· δοκεῖ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν οὔτε ὀξέως οὔτε εὐμαρῶς οὕτως, ἔτι Σερτωρίου περιόντος, συντελεσθῆναι.
- 116 τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν μονομάχων

115. 1 σαλευόντων, 'immotis integris exercitibus' (Schweigh.).

4 Plutarch (Pomp. 20. 4) tells us that Pompey likewise burned all Sertorius' papers unread.

5 τὸ καὶ Σερτωρίῳ (sc. τέλος), 'which was the end likewise of Sertorius' life.'

chs. 116-120. Servile War in Italy B. C. 73-71.

ἐς θεάς ἐν Καπύῃ τρεφομένων, Σπάρτακος Θραῦξ ἀνὴρ, ἐστρατευμένος ποτὲ Ῥωμαίοις, ἐκ δὲ αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ πράσεως ἐν τοῖς μονομάχοις ὧν, ἔπεισεν αὐτῶν ἐς ἐβδομήκοντα ἄνδρας μάλιστα κινδυνεῦσαι περὶ ἐλευθερίας μᾶλλον ἢ θεάς ἐπιδείξεως· καὶ βιασάμενος σὺν 2 αὐτοῖς τοὺς φυλάσσοντας ἐξέδραμε, καὶ τινῶν ὁδοιπόρων ξύλοις καὶ ξιφιδίοις ὀπλισάμενος ἐς τὸ Βέσβιον ὄρος ἀνέφυγεν, ἔνθα πολλοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας οἰκέτας καὶ τινὰς ἐλευθέρους ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ὑποδεχόμενος ἐλήστευε τὰ ἐγγύς, ὑποστρατήγους ἔχων Οἰνόμαόν τε καὶ Κρίξον μονομάχους. μεριζομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ τὰ κέρδη 3 κατ' ἰσομοιρίαν ταχὺ πλῆθος ἦν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ πρῶτος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκπεμφθεὶς Οὐαρίνιος Γλάβρος, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνῳ Πόπλιος Οὐαλέριος, οὐ πολιτικὴν στρατιὰν ἄγοντες ἀλλ' ὅσους ἐν σπουδῇ καὶ παρόδῳ συνέλεξαν (οὐ γάρ πω Ῥωμαῖοι πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ἐπιδρομήν τινα καὶ ληστηρίῳ τὸ ἔργον ὅμοιον ἡγούντο εἶναι), συμβαλόντες ἡττῶντο. Οὐαρινίου δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον αὐτὸς Σπάρτακος περι- 4 ἔσπασε· παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἦλθε κινδύνου Ῥωμαίων ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτὸς αἰχμάλωτος ὑπὸ μονομάχου γενέσθαι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Σπαρτάκῳ μὲν ἔτι μᾶλλον πολλοὶ συνέθεον, καὶ ἐπτὰ μυριάδες ἦσαν ἤδη στρατοῦ, καὶ ὅπλα ἐχάλκευε, καὶ παρασκευὴν συνέλεγεν. Οἱ δ' ἐν ἄστει τοὺς 117 ὑπάτους ἐξέπεμπον μετὰ δύο τελῶν. καὶ τούτων ὑπὸ μὲν θατέρου Κρίξος, ἡγούμενος τρισμυρίων ἀνδρῶν,

116. I ἐστρατευμένος ποτὲ Ῥωμαίοις, 'who had served in the Roman army.'

θεάς ἐπιδείξεως, 'rather than for the sake of the public exhibition of a gladiatorial show.' There seems no occasion to omit one or other of these words, as Mendelssohn suggests.

2 τὸ Βέσβιον ὄρος. The crater of Vesuvius had been for many centuries inactive. Strabo, v. p. 247 describes it as ἀγροῖς περιεοκούμενον παγκάλους πλὴν τῆς κορυφῆς.

3 πολιτικὴν στρατιάν, 'an army regularly organized by the State.'

117. I τοὺς ὑπάτους, i.e. Gellius and Cn. Lentulus, consuls of the year 72 B. C.

- περὶ τὸ Γάργανον ὄρος ἡττάτο, καὶ δύο μέρη τοῦ στρα-
 2 τοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς συναπώλετο αὐτοῖς· Σπάρτακον δὲ διὰ
 τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὁρῶν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἄλπεια καὶ ἐς Κελτοὺς
 ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλπείων ἐπειγόμενον ὁ ἕτερος ὑπάτος προ-
 λαβὼν ἐκώλυε τῆς φυγῆς, καὶ ὁ ἕτερος ἐδίωκεν. ὁ δὲ
 3 ἐφ' ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν ἐπιστρεφόμενος παρὰ μέρος ἐνίκα.
 Σπάρτακος τριακοσίους Ῥωμαίων αἰχμαλώτους ἐναγί-
 σας Κρίξω, δώδεκα μυριάσι πεζῶν ἐς Ῥώμην ἡπείγετο,
 τὰ ἄχρηστα τῶν σκευῶν κατακαύσας καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώ-
 4 τους πάντας ἀνελὼν καὶ ἐπισφάξας τὰ ὑποζύγια, ἵνα
 κοῦφος εἴη· αὐτομόλων τε πολλῶν αὐτῷ προσιόντων
 οὐδένα προσίετο. καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτὸν αὖθις περὶ
 τὴν Πικηνίτιδα γῆν ὑποστάντων, μέγας ἀγὼν ἕτερος
 5 ὅδε γίγνεται, καὶ μεγάλη καὶ τότε ἦσσα Ῥωμαίων.
 ὁ δὲ τῆς μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ὁδοῦ μετέγνω ὡς οὕτω γεγο-
 νὼς ἀξιόμαχος, οὐδὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὅλον ἔχων στρατιω-
 τικῶς ὠπλισμένον (οὐ γάρ τις αὐτοῖς συνέπραττε πόλις,
 ἀλλὰ θεράποντες ἦσαν καὶ αὐτόμολοι καὶ σύγκλυδες),
 τὰ δ' ὄρη τὰ περὶ Θουρίους καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν
 κατέλαβε, καὶ χρυσὸν μὲν ἢ ἄργυρον τοὺς ἐμπόρους
 ἐσφέρειν ἐκώλυε, καὶ κεκτῆσθαι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ, μόνον
 6 δὲ σίδηρον καὶ χαλκὸν ἐωνοῦντο πολλοῦ, καὶ τοὺς
 ἐσφέροντας οὐκ ἡδέικουν. ὅθεν ἀθρόας ὕλης εὐπορή-
 σαντες εὖ παρεσκευάσαντο, καὶ θαμινὰ ἐπὶ λεηλασίας
 ἐξήεσαν. Ῥωμαίοις τε πάλιν συνενεχθέντες ἐς χεῖρας
 ἐκράτουν καὶ τότε, καὶ λείας πολλῆς γέμοντες ἐπανήεσαν.
 118 τριέτης τε ἦν ἤδη καὶ φοβερός αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος,

2 ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλπείων, 'and from thence into Gaul,' the Transalpine Gaul being evidently intended. Plutarch (Crassus 9. 7) says that the plan of Spartacus was to abandon Italy altogether, but that his followers would not listen. They passed (verse 5) into Southern Italy, from whence there was no exit.

118. I τριέτης τε ἦν. This brings us to 71 B. C. coss. P. Lentulo Sura, Aufidio Oreste.

γελώμενος ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ καταφρονούμενος ὡς μονο-
 μάχων. προτεθείσης τε στρατηγῶν ἄλλων χειροτονίας
 ὄκνος ἐπείχεν ἅπαντας, καὶ παρήγγελλεν οὐδείς, μέχρι
 Δικίνιος Κράστος, γένει καὶ πλούτῳ Ῥωμαίων δια-
 φανής, ἀνεδέξατο στρατηγήσειν, καὶ τέλεσιν ἐξ ἄλλοις
 ἤλανεν ἐπὶ τὸν Σπάρτακον. ἀφικόμενος δὲ καὶ τὰ 2
 τῶν ὑπάτων δύο προσέλαβεν. καὶ τῶνδε μὲν αὐτίκα
 διακληρώσας, ὡς πολλάκις ἡττημένων, ἐπὶ θανάτῳ μέ-
 ρος δέκατον διέφθειρεν. οἱ δ' οὐχ οὕτω νομίζουσιν, 3
 ἀλλὰ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ συμβαλόντα καὶ τόνδε, καὶ
 ἡττημένον, πάντων διακληρώσαι τὸ δέκατον, καὶ ἀν-
 ελεῖν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους, οὐδὲν διὰ τὸ πλήθος ἐνδοιά-
 σαντα. ὁποτέρως δ' ἔπραξε, φοβερώτερος αὐτοῖς τῆς 4
 τῶν πολεμίων ἡττης φανείς αὐτίκα μυρίων Σπαρτα-
 κείων ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν που στρατοπεδεύοντων ἐκράτει, καὶ
 δύο αὐτῶν μέρη κατακανὼν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤλανε τὸν
 Σπάρτακον σὺν καταφρονήσει. νικήσας δὲ καὶ τόνδε 5
 λαμπρῶς ἐδίωκε φεύγοντα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ὡς δια-
 πλευσούμενον ἐς Σικελίαν, καὶ καταλαβὼν ἀπετάφρευε
 καὶ ἀπετείχιζε καὶ ἀπεσταύρου. βιαζομένου δ' ἐς τὴν 119
 Σαυνίτιδα τοῦ Σπαρτάκου διαδραμεῖν, ἔκτεινεν ὁ Κράσ-
 σος ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους ἄλλους περὶ ἔω, καὶ περὶ δείλην
 ἐς τοσοῦσδε ἑτέρους, τριῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ
 μόνων ἀποθανόντων καὶ ἑπτὰ τρωθέντων· τοσήδε ἦν

3 ἐς τετρακισχιλίους. Plutarch (Crassus 10. 3) reduces the
 decimation to more probable limits ; he says that it fell on the
 first cohort which had fled, so that the number of victims was
 fifty. It is difficult to reconcile this practice with the right of
provocatio insured by this time to the Roman soldier. See *Eng.*
Hist. Review, April, 1901, Article on Mommsen, *Strafrecht*,
 n. 58.

4 τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἡττης. Schweigh. explains: 'ut ad genitiv.
 casum praepositio ἐκ intelligatur, valeatque phrasis ista idem ac si
 dixisset τῆς ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἡττης,' i. e. 'they feared the punish-
 ment which their general would give them, if they shirked, more
 than the chance of defeat and death at the hands of the enemy,
 if they ventured to fight.'

αὐτίκα διὰ τὴν κόλασιν εἰς τὸ τῆς νίκης θάρσος μετα-
 2 βολή. Σπάρτακος δὲ ἰππέας ποθὲν αὐτῷ προσιόντας
 περιμένων, οὐκέτι μὲν εἰς μάχην ἦει τῷ στρατῷ παντί,
 πολλὰ δ' ἠνώχλει τοῖς περικαθημένοις ἀνὰ μέρος,
 ἄφνω τε καὶ συνεχῶς αὐτοῖς ἐπιπίπτων, φακέλους
 τε ξύλων εἰς τὴν τάφρον ἐμβάλλων κατέκαιε, καὶ τὸν
 3 πόνον αὐτοῖς δύσεργον ἐποίει. αἰχμάλωτόν τε Ῥωμαῖον
 ἐκρέμασεν ἐν τῷ μεταίχμιῳ, δεικνὺς τοῖς ἰδίοις τὴν
 4 ὄψιν ὧν πείσονται μὴ κρατοῦντες. οἱ δ' ἐν ἄστει
 Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς πολιορκίας πυνθανόμενοι, καὶ ἀδοξοῦντες
 εἰ χρόνιος αὐτοῖς ἔσται πόλεμος μονομάχων, προσκατ-
 ἔλεγον ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν Πομπήιον ἄρτι ἀφικόμενον
 ἐξ Ἰβηρίας, πιστεύοντες ἤδη δυσχερὲς εἶναι καὶ μέγα
 120 τὸ Σπαρτάκειον ἔργον. διὰ δὲ τὴν χειροτονίαν τήνδε
 καὶ Κράσσος, ἵνα μὴ τὸ κλέος τοῦ πολέμου γένοιτο
 Πομπήιον, πάντα τρόπον ἐπειγόμενος ἐπεχείρει τῷ
 Σπαρτάκῳ, καὶ ὁ Σπάρτακος, τὸν Πομπήιον προλαβεῖν
 2 ἀξίῳ, εἰς συνθήκας τὸν Κράσσον προυκαλεῖτο. ὑπερ-
 ορώμενος δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διακινδυνεύειν τε ἔγνω, καὶ
 παρόντων οἱ τῶν ἰππέων ἤδη ὥσατο παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ
 διὰ τοῦ περιτειχίσματος, καὶ ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ Βρεντέσιον
 3 Κράσσου διώκοντος. ὥς δὲ καὶ Λεύκολλον ἔμαθεν ὁ
 Σπάρτακος εἰς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτῃ
 νίκης ἐπανιόντα, εἶναι, πάντων ἀπογνοὺς εἰς χεῖρας
 4 ἦει τῷ Κράσσῳ μετὰ πολλοῦ καὶ τότε πλήθους. γενο-
 μένης δὲ τῆς μάχης μακρᾶς τε καὶ καρτερᾶς ὥς ἐν
 ἀπογνώσει τοσῶνδε μυριάδων, τιτρώσκεται εἰς τὸν
 μηρόν ὁ Σπάρτακος δορατῖ, καὶ συγκάμψας τὸ γόνυ

120. 2 παρόντων οἱ τῶν ἰππέων : see above ch. 119. 2.

3 Λεύκολλον. This is M. Varro Lucullus, who had been consul in 73 B.C. He was returning from his province of Macedonia, where he had defeated some Thracian tribes. Appian here confuses him with his more famous namesake, L. Lucullus (consul of 74 B.C.), who was at this time still engaged with Mithridates ; he did not return to Italy till four years later.

καὶ προβαλὼν τὴν ἀσπίδα πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀπεμά-
 χετο, μέχρι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ἀμφ' αὐτὸν
 κυκλωθέντες ἔπεσον. ὃ τε λοιπὸς αὐτοῦ στρατὸς ἀκό- 5
 σμως ἤδη κατεκόπτοντο κατὰ πλῆθος, ὡς φόνον γενέ-
 σθαι τῶν μὲν οὐδ' εὐαρίθμητον Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἐς χιλίους
 ἄνδρας, καὶ τὸν Σπαρτάκου νέκυν οὐχ εὐρεθῆναι.
 πολὺ δ' ἔτι πλῆθος ἦν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ἐκ τῆς μάχης 6
 διαφυγόν· ἐφ' οὓς ὁ Κράσσος ἀνέβαινεν. οἱ δὲ δι-
 ελόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐς τέσσαρα μέρη ἀπεμάχοντο μέχρι
 πάντες ἀπώλοντο, πλὴν ἑξακισχιλίων οἱ ληφθέντες ἐκρε-
 μάσθησαν ἀνὰ ὅλην τὴν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπὸ Καπύης ὁδόν.

καὶ τὰδε Κράσσος ἔξ μηνὸς ἐργασάμενος ἀμφήρι- 121
 στος ἐκ τοῦδε αὐτίκα μάλα τῇ δόξῃ τῇ Πομπηίου γίγνε-
 ται. καὶ τὸν στρατὸν οὐ μεθίει, διότι μηδὲ Πομπήιος.
 ἐς δὲ ὑπατείαν ἄμφω παρήγγελον, ὃ μὲν ἐστρατηγηκὼς 2
 κατὰ τὸν νόμον Σύλλα, ὃ δὲ Πομπήιος οὔτε στρατηγή-
 σας οὔτε ταμιεύσας, ἔτος τε ἔχων τέταρτον ἐπὶ τοῖς
 τριάκοντα. τοῖς δὲ δημάρχοις ὑπέσχητο πολλὰ τῆς
 ἀρχῆς ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπανάξειν. αἰρεθέντες δὲ ὑπατοι 3
 οὐδ' ὥς μεθίσταν τὸν στρατόν, ἔχοντες ἀγχοῦ τῆς
 πόλεως, ἑκάτερος πρόφασιν τήνδε ποιούμενος, Πομ-
 πήιος μὲν ἐς τὸν Ἰβηρικὸν θρίαμβον περιμένειν ἐπ-
 ανιόντα Μέτελλον, ὃ δὲ Κράσσος ὡς Πομπήιον δέον

ch. 121. The First Consulship of Pompey and Crassus 70 B.C.
 121. 1 ἀμφήριστος, 'a rival on equal terms.'

2 τοῖς δὲ δημάρχοις ὑπέσχητο, &c. This is a very meagre
 account of the political changes undertaken by Pompey and
 Crassus in their first consulship. By restoring to the tribunes
 the right of initiative in legislation (see note on ch. 59. 3), and
 by taking from the senate the exclusive control of the jury-
 courts, they practically effected a counter-revolution against the
 constitution of Sulla.

3 περιμένειν ἐπανιόντα Μέτελλον. Metellus and Pompey
 actually triumphed on the last day of 71 B.C., while Pompey
 was still an *eques Romanus* (Vell. ii. 30). The pretext here
 named for retaining his army could not therefore plausibly be
 urged after he was actually consul, as Appian seems to imply

- 4 προδιαλῦσαι. καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἑτέραν ἀρχὴν στάσεως ὀρώων, καὶ φοβούμενος δύο στρατοὺς περικαθημένους, ἐδέοντο τῶν ὑπάτων ἐν ἀγορᾷ προκαθημένων συν-
 5 ἀλλαγῆναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐκάτερος ἀπεκρούετο· ὥς δὲ καὶ θεόληπτοί τινες προύλεγον πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ εἰ μὴ συναλλαγείεν οἱ ὑπατοί, ὁ δῆμος αὖθις αὐτοὺς μετ' οἰμωγῆς παρεκάλει πάνν ταπεινῶς, ἔτι τῶν Σύλλα καὶ Μαρίου κακῶν ἀναφέροντες.
 6 καὶ ὁ Κράστος πρότερος ἐνδοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου κατέβαινε καὶ εἰς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐχώρει, τὴν χεῖρα προτείνων ἐπὶ διαλλαγαῖς· ὁ δ' ὑπανίστατο καὶ προσέτρεχεν. καὶ δεξιωσαμένων ἀλλήλους εὐφημίαι τε ἦσαν εἰς αὐτοὺς ποικίλαι, καὶ οὐ πρὶν ὁ δῆμος ἀπέστη τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἢ προγράψαι τοὺς ὑπάτους τὰς ἀφάσεις
 7 τῶν στρατοπέδων. οὕτω μὲν δὴ δόξασα καὶ ἥδε μεγάλη στάσις ἔσσεσθαι, κατελύετο εὐσταθῶς· καὶ ἔτος ἦν τῷδε τῷ μέρει τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐξήκοντα μάλιστα ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως Τιβερίου Γράκχου.

(verse 4 τῶν ὑπάτων ἐν ἀγορᾷ προκαθημένων). Plutarch (Pomp. 23) places the scene of reconciliation at the end of the consulship of Pompey and Crassus.

5 θεόληπτοί τινες. Plutarch (l. c.) mentions one C. Aurelius. τῶν . . . κακῶν ἀναφέροντες. I know no parallel for this use of the genitive after ἀναφέρειν, and the interpretation is obscure; but the reference in Lidd. & Sc. to Plato, Leg., 829 E, with Stallbaum's note on that passage, supports Schweigh. in rendering 'non immemor malorum,' as against Wright's translation 'reminding them (the consuls) of the evils,' &c.

APPENDIX

THE PASSAGE OF THE ALPS BY POMPEY AND HANNIBAL

APPIAN, *Bell. Civ.* i. 109. ι δ δὲ ἐς τὰ ἙΑλπεια ὄρη μετὰ φρονήματος ἀνίγει, οὐ κατὰ τὴν Ἀννίβου μεγαλουργίαν, ἑτέραν δ' ἐχάρασσε ἀμφὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ τε Ῥοδανοῦ καὶ Ἑριδανοῦ, οἳ ἀνίσχουσι μὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἀλπείων ὄρων οὐ μακρὰν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, &c.

We have here two main statements respecting Pompey's route through the Alps: (1) that it was not the same as Hannibal's; (2) that it took him by the sources of the Padus and the Rhone. In attempting to determine the Pass which Pompey crossed we have to consider the valleys of two affluents of the Po, both of them called 'Duria' by the ancients, and four possible Passes, beginning from the north: (1) the Great St. Bernard (Alpes Penninae), (2) the Little St. Bernard (Alpes Graiae), (3) the Mont Cenis, (4) the Mont Genèvre or one of the adjoining Passes (Alpes Cottiae). Of these the Mont Cenis may be set aside at once, for it does not appear to have been known to the Romans of later time, as it certainly would have been if Pompey had advertised its existence.

Let us first consider the statement regarding Hannibal. This was derived from Pompey's contemporaries, and very probably from Pompey himself. Sallust, at any rate, attributes it to Pompey, making him write to the Senate 'hostes in cervicibus iam Italiae agentes ab Alpibus in Hispaniam submovi. Per eas iter aliud atque Hannibal nobis opportunius patefeci' (*Sall. Epist. Pompeii*, 4). Varro likewise, a friend and lieutenant of Pompey, is reported by Servius (*ad Aen.* x. 13) as saying 'Alpes . . . quinque viis transiri posse, una quae est iuxta mare per Ligures, altera

qua Hannibal transiit, tertia qua Pompeius ad Hispaniense bellum profectus est, quarta qua Hasdrubal de Gallia in Italiam venit, quinta quae quondam a Graecis possessa est, quae exinde Alpes Graiae appellantur.' Varro has just before said that 'Alpes' 'proprie montium Gallicorum sunt,' and it is clear that he is here speaking only of the ways from Italy into Gaul, as he does not mention the great Eastern Pass, that of the Rhaetian Alps (the Brenner), which was known to Polybius (Strabo iv. 6. 12). Now it would be easily within the power of Pompey's contemporaries, Sallust and Varro, to find out which way Pompey took; Varro may well have passed over it himself when he went as governor for Pompey to Spain. They would likewise be good evidence for the prevalence of an opinion in their own time as to Hannibal's route; and it must be remembered that what we have to discover in the first place about Hannibal is not by which way he really came, but by which way Pompey (130 years after the event) thought that he had come.

The first thing which we have to notice is, that Varro excludes the Pass of the Graian Alps (Little St. Bernard), mentioning it as distinct from the routes of all three generals, Pompey, Hannibal, and Hasdrubal. This seems to me conclusive as to the actual fact respecting Pompey; for the two Carthaginian commanders, it would be interesting to know Varro's opinion concerning them, but we should not be bound to accept it. Varro may possibly have known of the Mont Cenis Pass, and have brought Hannibal by that route to Susa in the valley of the Western Duria (Dora Riparia); but in that case he omits the Great St. Bernard altogether, which is not probable. It is more likely therefore that Varro shared the opinion which Livy, a generation later, rejects, but names as the common one, that Hannibal passed over the Great St. Bernard (Alpes Penninae).

In the same passage of Livy (xxi. 38. 5) we find mention of another rejected opinion, that of Caelius Antipater, who believed that Hannibal descended by the 'Cremonis iugum.' Livy's words must be quoted in full: 'Taurini proxima gens erat in Italiam degresso. Id cum inter omnes satis constet, eo magis miror ambigi, quam Alpes transierit, et vulgo credere Poenino—atque inde nomen ei iugo Alpium inditum—transgressum, Caelium per Cremonis iugum dicere transisse; qui ambo saltus eum non in Taurinos sed per † saltus montanos† ad Libuos Gallos deduxissent.' This passage requires a good deal of comment.

1. The 'Libui Galli' must be identified with the 'Libici,' or 'Lebeci' who are mentioned by Polybius (ii. 17. 4) and of whom Ptolemy (Geogr. iii. 1. 32) says: *Λιβικῶν οὐ εἰσὶν ὑπὸ τοὺς Ἰνσοῦβρους Οὐερκέλλαι Λαύμελλον*. Vercellae is on the Sessites, the next river eastward from the Dora Baltea, and only fifteen miles from Novaria, which Ptolemy ascribes to the Insubres.

2. 'Per saltus montanos' is obviously corrupt. The repetition 'ambo saltus,' 'per saltus' would be intolerable, and the word 'saltus' applies to any of the Passes, and could not be used to distinguish that named by Caelius from the others. Madvig reads 'per alios montanos,' but much the best emendation seems to be that of Lipsius, 'per Salassos montanos.' We have in Strabo an elaborate account (iv. 6. 7) of these Salassi, who worked gold mines in the upper valley of the Dora Baltea, and levied toll on passengers.

3. Modern writers, with much probability, identify the 'Cremonis iugum' of Caelius with the Mont Cramont, which is a summit of the Graian Alps standing near the Italian slope of the Little St. Bernard, on the left hand as you descend into the Dora Baltea valley. This would be in the territory of the Salassi.

4. Whatever we may think of these last two doubtful points, there can be no question as to Livy's words 'qui ambo saltus.' Caelius, then, brought Hannibal across a Pass which debouched into the same valley as did that over the Great St. Bernard. This Pass can be only the Little St. Bernard. The valley is that of the Eastern Duria, the Dora Baltea. I take it then for certain that this was the route which Caelius ascribed to Hannibal.

Caelius Antipater was a contemporary of the Gracchi and the teacher of L. Crassus whose career as an orator began immediately after C. Gracchus' death. His fame and authority as a historian were great, and it is not improbable that Pompey had Caelius' account in his mind when he wrote. In that case his message to the senate must be interpreted as meaning 'I did not go by the Little St. Bernard.' Varro however, who rejected the Graian route for Hannibal as well as for Pompey, cannot have interpreted Pompey's utterance about Hannibal in the way which I suggest.

The contemporary statement of Varro, by excluding both the Maritime and the Graian Alps from our consideration, leaves us with the choice of only two lines for Pompey's road, first that of the Pennine, and second that of the Cottian Alps. The latter way is in itself far more probable. The Great St. Bernard Pass would have taken him round an unnecessary circuit of at least 200 miles on his way to Spain, and that by a very difficult route. His boast, 'iter nobis opportunius patefeci,' would have been ridiculous if he had neglected a Hannibalic route by the valley of the Dora Riparia over the Mont Genève in favour of a new one (even supposing it to be new at that time) by the valley of the Dora Baltea and the Pennine Alps. On the other hand, the way through the Cottian Alps would answer admirably to Pompey's description. All modern travellers represent the passage of these Cottian Alps at the Mons Matriona

(Mont Genève) as easy and convenient. Ammianus Marcellinus (xv. 10. 2), four centuries after Pompey's time, described the Alps at this point, starting from Segusio (Susa) as 'compendiarias et viantibus opportunas,' and in verse 8 he says that this road, as compared with the others, is 'media et compendiarior magisque celebris.' No doubt Ammianus is right in attributing the engineering of the road, as he saw it, to King Cottius in Augustus's time, but this does not exclude the possibility that Pompey had been there before Cottius.

We must next turn to the other side of Appian's story, the statement, namely, that Pompey marched by the sources of the Po and Rhone, which lie close together. As it stands, this is absurd; the actual sources of the two rivers are at least 150 miles apart. To get any sort of sense out of Appian's statement, we must suppose that he was thinking of the source of some great affluent of the Po, not of the main stream. By following up the stream of one of those tributaries, the easternmost of the two rivers called Duria (the modern Dora Baltea), through the territory of the Salassi, past what was afterwards Augusta Praetoria (Aosta), Pompey might have struck across the Alpes Penninae (Great St. Bernard) into the valley of the Upper Rhone. He would have hit it, some 80 miles from its source, near the town of Octodurum (Martigny). From the one water to the other would be only some twenty miles as the crow flies, though much farther, doubtless, to march. Mr. Coolidge observes most truly, 'it must be borne in mind that the Rhone valley beyond Martigny and Sion (16 miles higher up) does not seem to have been known to the Romans, so that anything above the Lake of Geneva *might* be called by them the sources of the Rhone.' So far then Appian's account of the two sources might seem to point to the Great St. Bernard route for Pompey's march rather than to the Mont Genève route, which leads into the

valley of the Durance, and which, if it followed the line of that valley, would reach the Rhone only at Avignon, more than 300 miles down stream from Martigny. Mommsen has pointed out, however (Corp. Insc. Lat. vol. v. 2, p. 809), that there is still a possible explanation of Appian's error on the assumption that the route by Mont Genève is really the one indicated. Strabo (iv. 6. 5), speaking of the country of the Medulli, which lay on the Gallic side of the Alps, says that there are in it *πηγαὶ δύο οὐ πολλὸν ἄποθεν ἀλλήλων, ὧν ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἐτέρας εἰσιν ὁ Δρυνετίας ποταμὸς χαραδρώδης ὃς ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥοδανὸν καταράττει, καὶ ὁ Δουρίας εἰς τὰναντία. τῇ γὰρ Πιάδῃ συμμίσγει κατενεχθεὶς διὰ Σαλασσῶν.* Strabo blunders in mentioning the Salassi, through whose land the Eastern Duria (Dora Baltea) flows, for the Dora Baltea does not rise anywhere near the source of the Durance, but at the foot of Mont Blanc between the two St. Bernard Passes. But Strabo's account would be quite accurate if applied to the Western Duria, the modern Dora Riparia, which rises in the Cottian Alps, flows past Segusio through the country of the Taurini, and joins the Padus at Augusta Taurinorum (Turin). In Mr. Coolidge's map (iii) in 'Ball's Western Alps' (ed. 1898) the 'sources de la Durance' are marked near Mont Genève not much over a mile from the source of the Piccola Dora, one of the head-waters of the Dora Riparia. Now if Appian had seen or heard of this statement of Strabo he might easily have confused what is said of the sources of the two tributaries of the Rhone and the Po, and have applied it to the sources of the main streams themselves. These considerations, coupled with the geographical probabilities of the two Passes between which we have to choose, induce me to adhere without hesitation to Mommsen's conclusion, that Pompey selected the Mont Genève route.

In taking this line Pompey believed that he was not following in the footsteps of Hannibal. Whether he was

right in that supposition is another question, and one which, I think, cannot be answered from the materials to our hand. Modern Alpine travellers can only tell us of the distances and the comparative difficulties of the various routes suggested. The Pennine Alps (Great St. Bernard) seem by general consent to be excluded on these grounds, and nothing in the ancient authorities forbids us to acquiesce in that exclusion. But as between the other Passes, we are reduced to uncertainty by the embarrassing multiplicity of places which competent observers have selected as satisfying the conditions for Hannibal's two battles with the barbarians, by the indefiniteness of all attempts to determine the route by estimating the number of days' marches from point to point, and by the circumstance that Polybius shows his weakest side when he tries to calculate distances. There is indeed one scene, the locality of which we anxiously demand from the expert in Alpine topography. What, we ask, is the point at which Hannibal encouraged his men by the clear view (*ἐναργείαν*) of Italy? whence did he show them the plains of the Po and point out the direction of Rome? Polybius gives, as the date of this prospect, the day at the top of the Pass before the descent commenced. It would hardly be safe to pin him very closely to this. He had heard doubtless from eye-witnesses of the effect produced on the troops, but he might easily have got wrong about the precise moment of difficulty at which the sight of Italy was invoked to cheer them. Still one is glad to hear of a Pass from the very summit of which such a view can be obtained, and the latest explorer, Lieutenant Paul Azan¹, has certainly

¹ This brilliant young officer of Zouaves, who has availed himself of his military duties on the Italian frontier to acquire a closer familiarity with the ground than can be attained by the ordinary traveller, has given to the world a very remarkable and interesting disquisition (*Annibal dans les Alpes*, 1902), the boldness of which is calculated to take away the breath of less

strengthened the case for the Mont Cenis route by the discovery of a point at the head of one of its Passes (the Col de Clapier) where an army might defile in full view of the Italian plain. But no one would consider this as in itself conclusive. The actual question at issue is one of external literary evidence, and that evidence is hopelessly insufficient and contradictory.

It is a suspicious circumstance that the only clearly marked route is that of Livy, by whose time the geography both of the Gallic and the Italian side of the Alps was a matter of common knowledge. Livy then has only to choose his Pass, and (like most modern travellers) he has a strong reason for preferring the Mont Genèvre in his knowledge of its comparative ease. This is apparent when he criticizes the two St. Bernard routes (xxi. 38. 8), 'nec

intrepid students. The rivers which are the starting-point of our discussion change their courses under his hands. The Durance is treated with special indignity, and is finally expelled altogether from the narrative. In the passage of Strabo about the two springs (iv. 6. 5), which has been noticed above (p. 132), Lieutenant Azan assumes (p. 114) that *Δρογενρίας* means the Drance which joins the Rhone at Martigny; and in Livy's account of Hannibal's march, he will have it (ibid.) that the Druentia is the Drac which flows into the Isère at Grenoble. This is sufficiently strange, but the views propounded about the Rhone are still more startling. According to M. Azan's theory, Polybius did not say what he meant when he asserted that the 'Island' was a triangle, unlike that of the Egyptian Delta in that it had water on only two sides of it. The section of M. Azan's book modestly entitled 'Une Conjecture' is devoted to proving that the 'Island' was in historical times actually enveloped by arms of the Rhone, which bifurcated near Culoz, and that the southernmost of these arms, supposed to branch off through the Lake of Bourget past Chambéry into what is now the channel of the Isère, is really the Rhone of Polybius and of Caesar. Like the geologists, whose opinion M. Azan quotes with perfect candour, I feel disposed to admire rather than to agree. The discovery by M. Azan of the view of Italy from the Col de Clapier is, however, a real addition to the evidence, and his descriptions of the ground are vivid and instructive. The mantle of Livy has fallen on him in so far that there is not a dull paragraph in the book.

veri simile est ea tum ad Galliam patuisse itinera ; utique quae ad Poeninum ferunt obsaepta gentibus semigermanis fuissent ' (i. e. 'the Great St. Bernard at any rate would in Hannibal's time have been blocked,' &c.). When Livy has once selected the Pass which seems to him most probable, he can readily make his story consistent. He makes Hannibal start with his back to the 'Island' formed by the Rhone and the Isère, takes him first a little northerly of east 'ad laevum,' presumably to Grenoble, and then south-east through the country of the Tricastini, Vocontii, and Tricorii (i. e. by the Drac Valley) to the Durance, and so over the Mont Genève Pass down the valley of the Western Duria (Dora Riparia) into the territory of the Taurini. There is no reason to believe (though it is of course a possible supposition) that Livy took the name of the Druentia and of the various tribes mentioned from any previous writer, or did more than use them to trace (quite correctly) a route which would bring Hannibal to the plains of Lombardy over the Mont Genève, without making him approach too closely to the Romans on the lower Rhone. This route with some of the same names had done duty already in Livy's account (v. 34. 5-8) of the advent of the Gauls into the valley of the Padus, 400 years before.

Into the framework of Hannibal's march, so defined, Livy introduces (besides a few incidents from elsewhere) as much matter from Polybius as he can find room for, transforming it by his magic touch from dullness to a bright and living story. It is only occasionally that Livy allows himself to be hampered in his choice of matter by any limitations imposed by strict topography. He can afford, without any danger of misleading his readers as to the route intended, to introduce a picture of the Durance to which some modern authorities¹ object as applicable rather

¹ So Azan (p. 67). Fuchs on the other hand (p. 111) maintains that the description answers well to the facts. The

to the lower reaches of the river than to the stream as it passes by Embrun and Savines; in the same way, he may without detriment to the general sense of his narrative incorporate in his text the substance of Polybius' statement (iii. 50. 2) ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις ἦσαν ἀπείχοντο πάντες αὐτῶν οἱ κατὰ μέρος ἡγεμόνες τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων, which he renders (xxi. 32. 6) 'Hannibal ab Druentia campestri maxime itinere ad Alpes cum bona pace incolentium ea loca Gallorum pervenit,' and there is no occasion for him to trouble himself if the level ground does not occur precisely in that place¹; but it is otherwise when his authority (in the passage quoted and in 51. 9) names the Allobroges as the people with whom Hannibal fought his first battle. This name Livy is bound to suppress, for both he and his readers knew that the Allobroges (in his time at any rate) lived far away from the locality which he wished to indicate.

difference, highly important to those who think that Livy is to be taken *au pied de la lettre*, is from my point of view insignificant.

¹ Azan (p. 89) says: 'Avec une bonne foi qui nous plaît, M. Chappuis (a partisan of the Durance and Mont Genève route) renonce à expliquer ce passage, et l'avoue très franchement: "Les mots *ab Druentia* n'ont aucun sens. Quand on est arrivé à la Durance, on est au pied des Alpes, et sur aucun point de la vallée on ne trouve une plaine entre la rivière et la montagne. Tite-Live commet ici une erreur.'" Azan himself, as we have seen, gets over the difficulty by denying that the Druentia is the Durance. Fuchs (p. 71) deals with the Polybius passage, and endeavours to minimize the force of the word ἐπίπεδος, but I cannot find that he ever faces the difficulty of Livy's version. Fuchs locates the first conflict with the barbarians at a point just in front of Savines where Hannibal, according to him, strikes the Durance. He adds (p. 121), 'The coincidence of all the features demanded by our historians would be insufficient, were we not able to locate the barrier in the neighbourhood of the point of entry into the valley of the Durance; both the authorities postulate this neighbourhood.' Considering that Polybius never names the Durance, and that Livy sets the first combat *after* the progress over the plains amongst peaceful Gauls and that this progress *follows* the passage of the Durance, this statement of Fuchs is to me quite unintelligible.

Polybius (iii. 50. 1) says that Hannibal marched *παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν* for 100 miles (800 stades), starting from some point in the triangular 'Island' formed by the Rhone, the Isère, and the Alps (iii. 49. 7). The modern partisans of the Mont Genève route generally say that this 'river' was not the Rhone but the Isère and its affluent the Drac. In spite of the elaborate disquisition of Professor Fuchs (*Hannibal's Alpenübergang*, 1897), I am inclined to think that any one reading Polybius' fiftieth chapter without a prejudice in favour of either route, would understand Polybius to mean the Rhone. Further Professor Otto Cuntz (*Polybius und sein Werk*, 1900, p. 63) has pointed out that though Polybius may not in his fiftieth chapter enable us to determine the question, yet he is perfectly explicit for the Rhone in iii. 39. 9, where he is giving the distance of the various stages of Hannibal's march—*ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσεως τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ πορευομένοις παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμόν*¹ *ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς ἕως πρὸς τὴν ἀναβολὴν τῶν Ἀλπεων τὴν εἰς Ἰταλίαν, χίλιοι τετρακόσιοι (στάδιοι)*².

¹ Fuchs (p. 48) thinks that if Polybius had meant the Rhone he would have said *παρὰ τοῦτον τὸν ποταμόν*. I cannot agree with this. Fuchs (p. 103) is likewise inclined to doubt whether the whole of this thirty-ninth chapter was not written by an editor after Polybius' death. There are certainly serious difficulties in accepting it as coming from Polybius himself; but the arguments of Cuntz (§ iv, *Die Via Domitia*) in favour of its authenticity lead one at any rate to suspend judgment. At the worst, the chapter would be good evidence as to what Polybius' contemporaries took to be his meaning.

² See Azan (p. 139): 'Quoi qu'on ait pu dire, "le fleuve" désigne bien ici le Rhône, et cela pour deux raisons. Tout d'abord, comme le remarque Deluc, Polybe n'a nommé l'Isère qu'une seule fois par son nom et par occasion, tandis qu'il a désigné quatorze fois auparavant le Rhône par le mot "le fleuve"; la quinzième fois c'est encore du Rhône qu'il s'agit. En second lieu, on peut remarquer, et cela est décisif, que les 800 stades le long du fleuve font partie des 1,400 stades comptées le long du Rhône jusqu'à la montée des Alpes.' We may welcome Azan's argument in favour of the Rhone without admitting his theory that the Rhone in question flowed in the

This, however, is not to say that Polybius pictured Hannibal as taking precisely the road which these words would indicate to those who have the advantage of a modern map. In ch. 47. 1 he describes Hannibal's progress from his crossing the Rhone (at a point only four days' march from the sea, ch. 42. 1), as being *παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπὸ θαλάττης ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἔω*, and in the next verse he gives the general course of the river as south-westerly—*ῥεῖ δὲ πρὸς τὰς χειμερινὰς δύσεις*. Likewise the 'Island' was a triangle, and the Rhone flowed from the Alps to the junction with the Isère straight enough to bound only one side of that triangle (ch. 49. 6). Polybius then was unconscious of the huge elbow at Lyon, where the Rhone really alters its course from west to south. Nothing is more difficult than to distinguish, by mere observation, such a change of direction from the windings, in and out, whether of a river or of a coast-line¹. Polybius evidently thought that in ascending the Rhone from the sea a traveller would bear gradually to the north-east.

Still, unless we are prepared to give up Polybius altogether, we must present to ourselves the Carthaginian army as commencing its march up the Rhone, cutting off angles, doubtless, but preserving the general direction (north-east) of that river, from, say, Valence or Vienne to somewhere not above Culoz, which is about forty miles down stream from the Lake of Geneva. Beyond this we are not tied by Polybius's authority. Polybius commits us to the Rhone valley only for a ten days' march (iii. 50. 1); after that commences *ἡ πρὸς τὰς Ἀλπεὺς ἀναβολή*. Without being very decisive, Polybius rather seems to imply that from this

channel of the modern Isère, and that by the Isara (or Scaras) of Polybius is to be understood the river which flows past Lyon (p. 203).

¹ Any one who has sailed past the north-west corner of Spain (Cape Finisterre) or the south-east corner (Cape Gata) will appreciate what I mean.

point onward we are no longer keeping company with the River. If, indeed, the Great St. Bernard were the point aimed at, the march would still be up the Rhone, past the Lake of Geneva; but to gain any other Pass Hannibal cannot have kept company with the Rhone beyond Culoz, but must have come south-east¹ not far from the Lake of Bourget past Chambéry to strike the Isère near Montmélian. Why he should have taken this round-about way to Montmélian by the Rhone valley, when he might apparently have reached the same point much more directly by the Isère valley and Grenoble, is a question to which there may have been an answer at the time, but to which we cannot find one now. He would, however, hardly have taken such a route, if the point at which he was aiming was actually Grenoble, and if his next stage from Montmélian was to be southward to Grenoble. Yet this improbability must be faced by those who would reconcile Livy and Polybius; for this tremendous *détour* must be assumed if we wish to start Hannibal up the Rhone and yet to bring him to the Durance and the Cottian Alps. On the other hand, once we have got Hannibal to Montmélian, the other Passes immediately demand consideration. From this point it would have been about equally easy for him to gain the foot of the Little St. Bernard, by following up the line of the main stream of the Isère past Albertville and Bourg St. Maurice, or to reach Lanslebourg and the Mont Ceniz Pass by the valley of the Arc, a tributary of the Isère.

We have gained little by attempting to trace Hannibal's route from the start. Let us now turn to the question of where he landed in Italy. There are only two possible entrances, one by the territory of the Salassi and the valley

¹ It is unnecessary to enter into details, or to inquire whether the Mont du Chat (Wickham and Cramer) or the Mont de l'Épine (Colonel Perrin, see Azan, p. 101) is the more likely route.

of the Dora Baltea, into which, as we have seen, both the St. Bernard Passes lead, the other by the land of the Taurini and the valley of the Dora Riparia. The Mont Genèvre route and the Mont Cenis route meet at Susa (Segusio), not far from the head of this valley. Livy in the passage quoted above (xxi. 38. 5) tells that all authors were agreed that the first people whom Hannibal met in Italy were the Taurini, but at the same time informs us that Caelius Antipater brought Hannibal over the Little St. Bernard, which would (as he truly says) lead him first not to the Taurini but to the Salassi and Libui. Here then we have a distinct contradiction between the writers of the Augustan Age (for Strabo agrees with Livy) and the historian who lived a hundred years earlier, within a century of the events which he described. On which side are we to range the authority of Polybius, who had opportunities even better than those of Caelius for ascertaining the truth? Unhappily we are only answered by two passages of disputed interpretation.

(1) In his main narrative (iii. 56. 3), immediately after describing the passage of the Alps, Polybius says that after the long journey from New Carthage Hannibal *κατῆρε τολμηρῶς εἰς τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδία καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἰσόμβρων ἔθνος*. The Taurini are not mentioned by him till we come (after a digression) to ch. 60, and then are first introduced as being at variance with the Insubres, whose quarrel Hannibal espouses.

Now this seems to make strongly for Caelius and the Little St. Bernard Pass, for the Insubres, whose headquarters are at Milan, are the next neighbours of the Salassi and Libui, both of whom are described by Ptolemy (Geogr. iii. 1. 30 and 32) as *οἱ εἰσὶν ὑπὸ Ἰνσούβρους*, whereas the Taurini (31) are *ὑπὸ τοὺς Σαλασσοὺς*—*ὑπὸ* meaning in each case 'to the westward of.' But, says Prof. Fuchs (pp. 143-6), Polybius is not to be taken, in

chapter 56, as stating what Hannibal did immediately after his descent from the Alps, but as indicating the country of the Insubres as the eventual goal of his journey, just as the Spanish Carthage was its starting-point. The narrative of events in order, according to Fuchs, only begins with ch. 60, in which Hannibal advances against the Taurini. This does not seem to me to be the most natural interpretation of Polybius's words, but it is a possible one.

There is another reference to Polybius, which seems to be decisive in favour of the Dora Riparia route, just as the last seemed in favour of the Dora Baltea, but here too the interpretation is uncertain. Strabo (iv. 6. 12) says: τέτταρας δ' ὑπερβάσεις ὀνομάζει μόνον [Πολύβιος]· διὰ Λιγύων μὲν τὴν ἔγγιστα τῷ Τυρρηνικῷ πελάγει, εἶτα τὴν διὰ Ταυρίνων, ἣν Ἀννίβας διήλθεν, εἶτα τὴν διὰ Σαλασσῶν, τετάρτην δὲ τὴν διὰ Ραιτῶν, ἀπάσας κρημνῶδεις. It seems strange in the first place that Polybius should have reckoned the way 'through the Salassi,' that is to say, up the Dora Baltea past Aosta as a single route, the Great and the Little St. Bernard being treated as merely a subsequent bifurcation¹. But, leaving that aside, Polybius here appears as stating that Hannibal came over a Pass leading into the country of the Taurini, and as distinguishing Hannibal's route from any which traversed the country of the Salassi. If so, Polybius is distinctly on the side of Livy in this matter, and at variance with the opinion of Caelius in favour of the Little St. Bernard. But, say the upholders of Caelius, the parenthesis ἣν Ἀννίβας διήλθεν is not to be taken as quoting the opinion of Polybius, but as stating that of Strabo, and so is of no weight in deciding the controversy as between Caelius and the Augustans. This controversy about the parenthesis, like the one about the

¹ Mr. Coolidge writes to me: 'This idea is very common in later writers, e.g. Paulus Jovius (16th cent.)—one main road with two branches.' See also Strabo iv. 6. 7.

Insubres, simply cannot be determined ; and so we are left by Polybius with nothing to help us in deciding between the Dora Baltea and the Dora Riparia. If any fortunate discovery of a fresh manuscript should ever show that it was Polybius himself who made Hannibal come out in the latter valley, then though we should be able to dismiss Caelius and the Little St. Bernard, we should still not be entitled to ask for a decisive verdict for Livy and Mont Genève. For the Mont Cenis Pass equally with the Mont Genève debouches at Susa, and leads to the territory of the Taurini. Fuchs (p. 12) would have us dismiss the Mont Cenis from consideration, on the ground that this route is never mentioned in the ancient Itineraries, and first appears in the eighth century A.D. I have already (p. 127) admitted this argument as conclusive against the Mont Cenis for Pompey's route, but I do not think that the objection applies with equal force when we are speaking of Hannibal. Suppose that Hannibal did really cross by the Mont Cenis and that Pompey opened an easier and more convenient way into Gaul, starting from the same point (Susa), it is quite in keeping with probability that the less convenient of the two routes should be abandoned and forgotten.

To sum up—if we accept Livy's story of the Druentia as a matter of fact, then there is no choice but for the Cottian Alps¹; but we have seen above (p. 139) that it is very difficult to make that route agree with Polybius's statement that Hannibal marched for ten days up the Rhone.

¹ I have not thought it necessary to discuss the claims of the several subsidiary Passes which are included under the same 'system.' The Col de Clapier, for instance, is a mere variation of the Mont Cenis, and the Col des Écheltes of the Cottian route. On the other hand, the Col de l'Argentière, at the extreme end of the Cottian Alps, on the far side of Monte Viso, must be rejected as debouching too far south for the land of the Taurini. This may, however, well have been the route of Hasdrubal.

Neither the Mont Cenis route nor the Little St. Bernard route is subject, to anything like the same degree, to this objection. As between the Mont Cenis and the Little St. Bernard the issue would be joined on the interpretation of the passages of Polybius (above, pp. 140, 141) relating to the two Duria valleys. The Mont Cenis has the disadvantage that it is not mentioned in any ancient author, so that we do not even know its Latin name, whereas the Little St. Bernard has the support of Caelius Antipater.

To return to the passage of Appian with which we started, it would appear that there is not sufficient evidence to enable us to say that our author was wrong in asserting that (in crossing by the Cottian Alps) Pompey had struck on a new route different from that of Hannibal. If he were wrong, he erred in company with Pompey's contemporaries. Appian's other statement about the sources of the Rhodanus and Eridanus, though erroneous, finds, I think, a sufficient explanation in the close neighbourhood of the sources of the Durance to those of the Dora Riparia by Mont Genève.

I have to express my obligations to Mr. G. B. Grundy of Brasenose College and the Rev. W. A. B. Coolidge of Magdalen College, whose kindness has supplied me with the information and references on which the present essay is founded. They have no responsibility for the conclusions at which I have arrived.

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